

Moffett, A History of Christianity in Asia, Volume]
Errata: corrections and revisions. [achvoll\errata.v11]

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xxii, map. change [Selucia-Ctesiphon] to, Seleucia-Ctesiphon
xxvi, map. change [.. centers of Christianity] to...centers of
Nestorian Christianity. (include Armenian?)

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29, 3rd l. from bottom. change [Yeuh-chi] to, Yueh-chi

36, 4th l. from bottom. add commas [unfortunately] to
,unfortunately,

39, 3rd l. change [Batholomew] to, Bartholomew

45, last line. change [77, sixth century] to, sixth century (?)

51, l. 25. delete [impossible]; substitute, very difficult

88, Combine notes 90, and first paragraph of 91, revising
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(or History), attributed by Mingana to a Syrian,
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101, 2nd l. of notes: change [Fryne] to, Frye

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- 458, 1.6 change [six] to, seven
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554. delete [Manika II], 423, 427; replace with, Makika II, 423, 426, 427

150 Leabrook Lane
Princeton, NJ 08540
Dec. 1, 1995

Mr. John Shopp
HarperSanFrancisco
1160 Battery St., 3rd Floor
San Francisco, CA, 94111-1213

Dear Mr. Shopp:

My attention has been called to a significant error in the footnoting on pages 347 and 368 of Vol. I of A History of Christianity in Asia, which will surely need correction if, as I hope, the book survives to a second edition and a paperback. It seems to be catching on as a textbook and is now required here at Princeton Theological Seminary for purchase by students in the large introductory church history course. What Princeton does others usually follow in the mainline seminaries, and in evangelical seminaries the book is increasingly popular.

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1. al-Saffah (749/50-754), whose personal name, Abul

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And Add at the footnote end: "See the list of 'Abbasids in Hourani, History of the Arab Peoples, 488. Cf. Hitti, History of the Arabs, (288, 297, 466, 470, 473, 479, 486."

You already have my listing of other errata needing correction elsewhere, but I enclose another copy. The misspelling of Seleucia Ctesiphon on the maps, pp. xviii and xxii, and the misleading text of the legend on the map, p. xxvi, are the most vexing. The latter was probably my error. Instead of "Surviving Centers of Christianity", it should read "Surviving Centers of Nestorian Christianity", or "... of Nestorianism".

I apologize for making this so complicated. If you see a better way to make the corrections, please do so. Power to you.

Sincerely,

Samuel Hugh Moffett

(For insertion on p. 118, of Vol. 1 History of Xty, Asia)

Tiridates and the Conversion of Armenia

An important parallel to the rise of the Persian church is the conversion of Armenia and the founding of an ancient church which outlasted even the Nestorians. Tradition traces its beginnings to the Apostle Thaddaeus who, after Pentecost, into the mountains of Armenia and converted the king's daughter. But history credits this more believably to a greater missionary, Gregory the Illuminator, and his conversion of King Tiridates who freed Armenia from Persian rule.

The story, if true, is dramatic. In 218 a brother of the Parthian Persian emperor became king of Armenia. Ten years later the Parthian dynasty fell, and Armenia's Parthian king, became sworn enemy of Persia. Persia sent an assassin who killed him and was killed in turn by angry Armenians. The assassin's one-year-old son, Gregory, it is said, was saved by his nurse and carried into Roman territory. The king's son, Tiridates, likewise escaped and was befriended by the Roman Emperor Diocletian who prepared him to free Armenia from Persia.

Meanwhile the assassin's son, Gregory, was also preparing to return to Armenia, but as a missionary for he had become a Christian. The two returned together when Tiridates, knowing his reputation for learning, and not knowing his ancestry asked him serve as his secretary. Back in Armenia, a great pagan feast welcomed them. The king worshipped first, and Gregory was asked to follow. He was silent, then slowly rose to say, "I am a Christian, and I do not worship figures made of gold, iron or wood." Imprisoned and exposed as the son of the murderer of the king's father he was thrown into a pit to die. But he did not die; the king fell sick with a strange disease; and the king's sister sent for the saint who would not die. The legend has a happy ending. He heals the king; the king is converted, and Gregory is sent back to Rome to become a bishop and return to baptize the king. That much, at least, is history.

The date was probably 303 AD, at least ten years before Constantine became a ^{emperor} king, which makes Tiridates the first verifiably Christian king of history, at least "the first king of a Christian state which has kept its identity through the centuries."¹

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Armenia
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PRINCETON
THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY

150 Leabrook Lane
Princeton, N.J. 08540
January 30, 1995

Dr. Suh Jung-Woon
Presbyterian Theological Seminary
Kwangnaru
Seoul, Korea

Dear Dr. Suh:

If it is not too late to add another correction to the page listing of typos and errors, which I gave you more than a year ago for use in the Korean translation of Vol I of the History of Christianity of Asia, I would like to call you to an addition that should be made on page 322, n. 79. Add to the footnote the following sentence:

See also Lee Chang-Sik, "A Study of a Chinese Nestorian Sutra, 'Jesus Messiah'", in The Northeast Asia Journal of Theology, (Tokyo), No. 13 (September, 1974), 46-52.

If you will share this correction with those who are working on the Korean translation I will appreciate it very much.

I am looking forward to seeing you in Princeton today.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel Hugh Moffett

PS. Perhaps I should also enclose the whole page of errata previously sent.

Paul Slawson Dept. of History
150 Cambridge Lane
Princeton, NJ 08540
Dec. 1, 1995

7a.
Mr. William Burrows
Orbis Books, PO Box 108
Marysville, NY 10940
Dante M. Stepp:

FAX: 212 242 0670

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CONFIRMATION REPORT

10-01-97 14:28

ID: 9242973

NAME: PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL

TYPE : TRANSMISSION

NO.	TIME	DIAL NO.	REMOTE STATION	PAGES	JOB NO.	RESULT
01	14:26	MANUAL	19149450670	3/ 3	403	OK

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150 Leabrook Lane
Princeton, NJ 08540
Dec. 1, 1995

To:
Mr. William Burrows
Orbis Books, PO Box 308
Maryknoll, NY 10545

FAX: 914) 945-0670

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ADAPTATION AND ASSIMILATION IN ASIA

Edwin Yamauchi

Sometime around C.E. 600, Pope Gregory I instructed the missionary monk Augustine to co-opt pagan customs in England. Current missiologists speak of the importance of "contextualizing" the Gospel. Translators seek to render the Scriptures into terms and idioms which are intelligible to the target audience, while attempting to transmit faithfully the biblical message. There is always the tension that in adapting too much, assimilation results in syncretism; and on the other hand, some movements are syncretistic from their inception. Examples of adaptation and assimilation in antiquity can be illustrated by two movements that moved eastward: Manichaeism and Nestorian Christianity.¹

I. MANICHAISM

Manichaeism was a syncretistic and Gnostic religion which was very evangelistic. Its adherents eventually reached from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Manichaeism was based on the revelations claimed by Mani (C.E. 216-276), who was born in Mesopotamia. He received his first revelation from his pre-existent "Twin" at the age of 12 or 13. Mani's father was Patik; his mother, Mariam, came from the Parthian royal family. They belonged to a group of Babylonian baptists, who were ascetic in character.

Because of the many different elements in the syncretistic mixture of Manichaeism, a controversy arose about its essential nature. Some scholars such as W. Bousset, H. Nyberg, and A. V. W. Jackson maintained that it was essentially eastern and Iranian; others such as H. H. Schaeder and F. C. Burkitt held that it was essentially a Christian heresy. Some scholars such as G. Widengren, who believed that Mani's baptists were Mandaeen Gnostics,

¹For an example of a movement that tried unsuccessfully in antiquity to move westward, see my "Hellenistic Bactria and Buddhism," *Humanitas* 18/3 (1995) 5-10.

To
Samuel
Moffett,

with
best
regards,

Edwin
Yamauchi

held the position that Mani preserved pre-Christian Gnostic traditions.² Other scholars, following the lead of the church fathers, maintained that Mani's religion was a heretical development of Christianity, featuring especially a docetic view of Christ.³

In 1970, a tiny but important Greek parchment, the Cologne Codex, was published by A. Henrichs and L. Koenen. This parchment codex, which is the smallest known (4.5 cm x 3.5 cm), is a Greek translation from the fifth century of a Syriac original.⁴ U. Bianchi declares,

The relevance of the Manichaean Cologne Codex, not only for a better knowledge of the religious background of Mani, the founder of a new religion, but also for a pertinent religio-historical study of his doctrine and its possible pre-conditions, can hardly be exaggerated.⁵

²Cf. J.P. Asmussen, "Manichaeism" in *Historia Religionum I: Religions of the East* (ed. C.J. Bleeker and G. Widengren; Leiden: Brill, 1969) 586-587; G. Widengren, *Mani and Manichaeism* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965). See my review of G. Widengren, ed., "Der Mandäismus," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 105 (1985) 345-346.

³J.P. Asmussen, "Jesus in Manichaeism" in his *Manichaean Literature* (Delmar, NY: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1975) ch. X: E. Rosen, *Die manichäische Christologie* (Weisbaden: Harrassowitz, 1979); Jan Helderman, "Zum Doketismus und zur Inkarnation im Manichäismus" in *Manichaica Selecta* (ed. A. van Tongerloo and S. Giversen; Louvain: International Association of Manichaean Studies, 1991) 101-123; E. Yamauchi, "The Crucifixion and Docetic Christology," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 46 (1982) 13.

⁴See. A. Henrichs and L. Koenen, "Eine alte griechische Mani Schrift" *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 5 (1970) 97-216; R. Cameron and A.J. Dewey, *The Cologne Mani Codex* (Chico: Scholars, 1979); L. Koenen and C. Romr, *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex* (Bonn: Habelt, 1985).

⁵"The Contribution of the Cologne Mani Codex to the Religio-Historical Study of Manichaeism" in *Papers in Honour of Professor Mary Boyce* (ed. A.D.H. Bivar and J. Hinneals; Leiden: Brill, 1985) 15. Cf. K. Rudolph, "Die Bedeutung des Kölner Mani-

This codex demonstrates that Mani's baptists were not the Mandaeans but were followers of Elchasai, a Jewish-Christian leader of the second century C.E. from Transjordan.⁶ After Mani's second revelation, when he was twenty-four, he spoke against the water baptisms of the Elchasaites and preached instead salvation by *gnosis*, "knowledge."

Mani converted members of his family and some of the baptists, and began his far-flung ministry of over 30 years. An early source describes Mani's appearance with a book in one hand and a staff in the other — he may have been lame. He wore flamboyant clothing, a blue cloak, and red and green trousers. He preached in Mesopotamia and throughout Persia, and even reached India, where he converted the Buddhist Turan Shah.⁷ Mani won the favor of Mihr Shah, the brother of King Shapur,⁸ and then gained the patronage of Shapur I (C.E. 240-273), the second king of the new Sasanian dynasty, and even accompanied the king on campaigns against the Roman emperor, Valerian. Shapur's second son, Bahram I, however, turned against Mani at the instigation of his minister, Karter (Kirder), a zealous Zoroastrian who persecuted all other religions. After being bound in chains for 26 days, Mani died in prison in C.E. 276. He was decapitated, and his corpse was buried by his followers at Gundishapur in southwestern Persia.

Mani wrote the following works:

1. The *Shabuhragan*, dedicated to King Shapur, was a work which dealt with cosmology and eschatology. It is the only text which was written in

Codex für die Manichäismusforschung" in *Mélanges d'histoire des religions offerts à Henri-Charles Puech* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974) 471-486.

⁶On Elchasai, see G.P. Luttikhuisen, *The Revelation of Elchasai* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1988).

⁷H.J. Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road: Gnostic Texts from Central Asia* (San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1953) 201, 206-207; W. Sundermann, "Zur frühmissionarischen Wirksamkeit Manis," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 24 (1971) 79-125.

⁸Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road* 211.

Middle Persian; the other six works were written in an east Aramaic dialect in a distinctive script based upon the Syriac Estrangelo script.

2. *The Living Gospel* proclaims Mani as the seal of the prophets and the Paraclete foretold by Christ.
3. *The Book of the Mysteries* contained a refutation of Bardaisan, a famous Syrian heretic.⁹
4. *Letters of Mani*. Coptic translations of the letters were found in Egypt. Unfortunately these were destroyed in Berlin during the Second World War before they could be published.
5. Mani, who was a gifted painter, composed the *Ardahang*, a picture book, to propagate his faith among the illiterate.
6. *The Book of Giants*, like the Book of Enoch, deals with the "sons of God" of Genesis 6. It was actually a Jewish composition which Mani adopted as his own work.¹⁰ Aramaic fragments of the original Jewish work have been found among the Dead Sea Scrolls in Cave IV at Qumran.¹¹

Milik declares:

⁹H.J.W. Drijvers, *Bardaisan of Edessa* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1966).

¹⁰W.B. Henning, "The Book of the Giants," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11 (1943) 52-74; J.T. Milik "Turfan et Qumran: Livre des Géants juif et manichéen" in *Tradition un Glaube* (ed. G. Jeremias, H.W. Kuhn, and H. Stegemann; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1971) 117-127; Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road* 241, 247 ff.; H.J. Klimkeit, "Der Buddha Henoch: Qumran und Turfan," *Zeitschrift für Religions und Geistesgeschichte* 32 (1980) 367-375; W. Sundermann, *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1973) 12; idem, "Ein weiteres Fragment aus Manis Gigantenbuch" in *Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemain Emerito Oblata* (Leiden: Brill, 1984) 491-505; J.C. Reeves, *Jewish Lore in Manichaean Cosmogony: Studies in the Book of Giants Traditions* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1992).

¹¹J.T. Milik, *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976) 298-310.

The extraordinary missionary zeal of the Manichaeans carried knowledge of the Book of Giants from the shores of the Atlantic as far as the plains of China. The Syriac original has been translated into numerous languages of Asia, of Europe, of Africa. We have today in the remains of the Kawân in Middle Persian, in Sogdian, in Uighur, in Pahlavi, in Coptic, in Greek, in Latin, and in Arabic. Extracts, quotations, allusions are evidence of the existence of Parthian, Coptic, Greek, Latin, and Arabic versions. Some versions must have existed in other languages used by the Manichaeans, such as Chinese, Tokharian B (Kushan). No religion of the Byzantine era and the early Middle Ages had such a large ethnic and linguistic expansion as Manichaeism. No work of ancient Jewish literature had in antiquity a circulation comparable with that of the Book of Giants.¹²

The adoption of a Jewish work as a canonical scripture by Mani is rather ironic in the light of his rejection of the Old Testament as inspired by the demonic Archons.¹³ In Manichaeism a tendency to absolve the Romans of the blame for the death of Christ and place it entirely on the Jews was also manifest.¹⁴

7. The seventh canonical work is not certainly known but may have included *Psalms and Prayers of Mani*.

In 1930 some fellahin searching among the ruins of Medinet Madi in the Faiyum area of Egypt discovered a wooden chest containing seven large papyrus volumes with 3,000 pages in Coptic. These were divided between the Chester Beatty Collection in London and the Staatliche Museen in Berlin.

¹²Ibid. 310.

¹³On Mani's relation to Judaism, see I. Gruenwald, "Manichaeism and Judaism in Light of the Cologne Mani Codex," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* (1983) 29-45.

¹⁴Klimkeit, *Gnosis and the Silk Road* 70-72, 74; M. Hunter, "Mani und das persische Christentum" in *Tongerloo and Giversen* 133.

They contained the *Kephalaia*, an important collection of the utterances of mani, as well as a Psalm Book and Letters.¹⁵

Another large but later corpus of Manichaean documents was found early in the twentieth century in Turkestan in northwestern China. These manuscripts of the 8th-9th centuries C. E. were found in the oasis of Turfan and at nearby sites such as Tuen-huang and Rocho (Gaochang), the capital of the Uighurs by A. Grünwedel and Albert von Le Coq in four expeditions (1902-1914). Kocho, which was almost a square kilometer, is surrounded by a wall, which was 20 meters in height. Among its sanctuaries was a Manichaean temple (Ruin K), which was discovered by Le Coq, who reported:

The whole floor of this domed room was covered with a layer eight centimetres thick of dark-coloured soft, damp material richly permeated with gold and paint. Closer investigation revealed that the whole mass consisted of complete Manichaean books, rotted through by the entry of moisture, but never yet torn or hacked to pieces by an enemy hand, many of them richly illuminated.¹⁶

Le Coq also made startling discoveries of Buddhist art at the monastery complex at Bezeklik. Moving the sand away, he reported, "Suddenly, as if by magic, I saw on the walls bared in this way to my right and left, splendid paintings in colours as fresh as if the artist had only just finished them."¹⁷

¹⁵Of the Berlin Coptic Manichaean Papyri the first 244 pages of the *Kephalaia* were published in 1933-1939 under C. Schmidt; in 1966 A. Böhlig published 48 pages and then in 1965 another page. An international committee under J.M. Robinson is preparing a facsimile publication of the collection. Of the Chester Beatty Coptic Papyri in England some 330 pages of the Homilies and the Psalm-Book were published by H.J. Polotsky and C.R.C. Allberry in 1934 and 1938. In 1986-1988 all 1060 pages were published in a facsimile edition by S. Giversen. See S. Giversen, "Recent Studies in Manichaeism" in *Actes du I^{er} Congrès Copte* (ed. M. Rassart-Debergh & J. Ries; Louvain-la-Neuve: Institut Orientaliste, 1992) 273-274.

¹⁶H.J. Klimkeit, *Manichaean Art and Calligraphy* (Leiden: Brill, 1982) 24.

¹⁷P. Hopkirk, *Foreign Devils on the Silk Road* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984) 125.

The manuscripts Le Coq found were inscribed in a number of languages including Parthian, Middle Persian, Sogdian, Uighur, and Chinese.¹⁸ Parthian fragments, before they were fully understood, were used by R. Reitzenstein to support his theory of a pre-Christian Iranian Gnosticism. The important Parthian Hymn Cycles were studied by Mary Boyce under the direction of W. B. Henning.²⁰ It has been especially since the 1970's that the publication of the Turfan materials has been accelerated by the work of many scholars as W. Sundermann.²¹ Yet despite important progress, H. Klimkeit, noted recently, "Today, more than eighty years after their discovery, only about one quarter of the Gnostic texts from Turfan has been published and the most demanding is their philological analysis."²²

The *Khuostuonift*, a work in the Turkish dialect of Uighur, is an important lay confessional, listing doctrinal sins and moral lapses. It may be significant for this practice that the Manichaean version of the *Shepherd of Hermas*, which is the earliest patristic work to emphasize penance, has been found among the Turfan fragments.²³ The Central Asian finds also give

¹⁸For an important Chinese text, see E. Chavannes & P. Pelliot, *Un texte Manichéen retrouvé en Chine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1912). Cf. S.N.C. Leung, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China* (rev. ed.; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1992) 240-242.

¹⁹See E. Yamauchi, *Pre-Christian Gnosticism* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983) ch. 5.

²⁰M. Boyce, *The Manichaean Hymn-Cycles in Parthian* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954).

²¹W. Sundermann, "Recent Work on Iranian Turfan Texts," *Journal of Central Asian Studies* 6.1 (1983) 103-111; idem, "Lo studio dei testi iranici di Turfan dal 1970 ad oggi," in *Orientalia Romana 5: Iranian Studies* (ed. G. Gnoli; Rome: Instituto Italiano per lo Studio del Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1993) 119-133. I am especially indebted to W. Sundermann for his generosity in supplying me with copies of his publications.

²²Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road* xviii.

²³*Ibid.* 110, 121-122, 199. See L. Cirillo, "Le Pasteur d'Hermas dans la Tradition Manichéenne: à propos du Fragment M 97 en Pehlvi" in *Tongerloo and Giversen* 49-51.

important examples of Manichaean art both in the richly illustrated manuscripts and in wall paintings. A copper plate from Kocho bears an image of Mani.²⁴

Both Mani and his followers utilized a variety of sources. In the Shabuhrgan, Mani claimed to have succeeded the major religious leaders who preceded him. According to Sundermann,

In this chapter he styled Buddha, Zoroaster and Jesus his forerunners and himself the unique fulfiller of their message. He competed with them and of course surpassed them and Jesus in particular who was better known to him than Buddha and Zoroaster.²⁵

There are indications that in addition to the Canonical Gospels a variety of apocryphal materials such as the Gospel of Peter and the Gospel of Thomas were used by the Manichaeans.²⁶

U. Bianchi believes that Zoroastrianism provided Mani with his basic dualism.²⁷ An example of a borrowing from Zoroastrian imagery is the judgment scene where the believer is faced with an expanding bridge if his deeds were good, and a contracting bridge if his deeds were evil.²⁸

²⁴W. Sundermann, "Ein übersehenes Bild Manis," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 12 (1985) 172-174.

²⁵W. Sundermann, "Mani's Revelations in the Cologne Mani Codex and in Other Sources" in *Codex Manichaicus Colanienses* (ed. L. Cirillo and A. Roselli; Cosenza: Marra Editore, 1986) 212.

²⁶J. P. Asmussen, *Manichaean Literature* (Delmar, NY: Scholars' Facsimiles, 1975 repr.) 103: "Particularly interesting is the Parthian text M 18, one of the crucifixion hymns, in that it appears in part to have had the apocryphal Gospel of Peter as a basis." See also H.J. Klimkeit, "Die Kenntnis apokrypher Evangelien in Zentral und Ostasien" in *Tangerloos and Giversen* 149-175.

²⁷Bianchi, "The Contribution of the Cologne Mani Codex" 23.

²⁸See E. Yamauchi, *Persia and the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1990) 453-454.

According to Klimkeit, Manicheism was deliberately syncretistic:

This was a necessary consequence of the principle pronounced by Mani himself, that the people to be proselytized must be addressed in their own languages, and that meant further in their own metaphorical and mythological ways of speech. Thus while we observe in the western part of the Manichaean world strong borrowings from Christianity, and in Iranian writings an extensive assimilation of Persian religious ideas, in Central Asia and China the texts become increasingly influenced by Buddhism.²⁹

After the death of Mani, his followers were hard pressed under Karter who made Zoroastrianism the state religion of the Sassanid Dynasty (C.E. 225-640).³⁰ The few Manichaeans who were left in Mesopotamia and Persia were later severely persecuted by the Muslims. Other Manichaeans, who had fled from Persia, had crossed the Oxus River into Central Asia by the seventh century. Their message was primarily spread eastwards by Sogdian merchants.³¹

Manichaeism even became the state religion of the Kingdom of the Uighurs (C.E. 762-840) in Turfan in Chinese Turkestan under Bögü Khan (Chinese Mou-yü).³² This development is attested in a trilingual (Chinese

²⁹Klimkeit, *Manichaean Art* xiii. Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road* 4: "Yet a closer look at such adaptations reveals that they were often only of a superficial linguistic nature, and did not really affect the basic concepts of the religion."

³⁰On Karter see M. Back, *Die sassanidischen Staatsinschriften* (Leiden: Brill, 1978); P. Gignoux, "Middle Persian Inscription" in *The Cambridge History of Iran, III.2: The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian Periods* (ed. E. Yarshater, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) 1209-1211; D.N. MacKenzie, *The Sasanian Rock Reliefs at Naqsh-e Rostam* (Berlin: Iranische Denkmäler, 1909); P. Gignoux, *Quatre Inscriptions du mage Kirdir* (Paris: Association pour l'Avancement des Etudes Iraniennes, 1991).

³¹Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road* 366.

³²*Ibid.* 11, 169.

Sogdian, Uighur) inscription. A later Uighur kingdom developed at Kocho (850-1250), where Buddhism was dominant.³³

Manichaean dignitaries first reached the Chinese imperial court in 694. But in 732 the Chinese forbade the propagation of Manichaeism (Mo-mo-ni's teachings) except among foreigners.³⁴ Chinese Manichaeans used Buddhist terminology, narratives, and artistic motifs.³⁵ Klimkeit observes that the Parthian text (M104) from Turfan speaks of Jesus entering into *parinirvana* the Buddhist realm of light.³⁶ Mani is called in Uighur *Ingri burxan*, "God Buddha." He was declared to be the Maitreya, the Buddha to come. One text declared:

[You, i.e. Mani] preached the [unparalleled] true Law,
You lead them across the sea of [suffering]
And bring them to the good Nirvana.
After the [four] Buddhas [Seth, Zoroaster, Buddha & Jesus], you
descended and attained truly incomparable Buddhahood.³⁷

Mani was also assimilated to Lao-tzu, the founder of Taoism, and thereby gained a place in the mainstream of Chinese religious life. According to Lieu:

By adapting some aspects of their religion to Buddhism and Taoism the Manichaeans had succeeded in narrowing the cultural gap between China and the west. Consequently, Manichaeism was more successfully transplanted onto Chinese soil than Zoroastrianism and Nestorianism

³³Ibid. 272-273.

³⁴Lieu, *Manichaeism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China* 231.

³⁵Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road* 100, 161, 325, 327.

³⁶Ibid. 69; H.J. Klimkeit, "Jesus' Entry into Parinirvana: Manichaean Identity in Buddhist Central Asia," *Numen* 33 (1986) 225.

³⁷Klimkeit, *Gnosis on the Silk Road* 281.

which both remained as religions of foreigners throughout their history in China.³⁸

Despite persecution and restrictive laws, Manichaeism managed to survive in South China until the sixteenth century.³⁹

II. NESTORIAN CHRISTIANITY

Nestorius was the unfortunate bishop of Constantinople who clashed with Cyril of Alexandria and as a consequence was deposed at the Council of Ephesus in 431 for his refusal to acknowledge the Virgin as "Theotokos," a title for espousing a prosopic rather than a hypostatic union of the two natures of Christ. Though exiled, Nestorius felt vindicated by the decisions at the Council of Chalcedon (451), which condemned Monophysitism.

Christians of the Church of the East in Mesopotamia and Persia, who were named after Nestorius, in actuality venerated more highly Nestorius' teacher, Theodore of Mopsuestia. In 544, Justinian, in attempting to placate the Monophysites, condemned the so-called "Three Chapters" — writings of three individuals suspected of Nestorian tendencies, including Theodore of Mopsuestia.⁴⁰

Because the Sasanian Persians were constantly in conflict with the Byzantines, they tolerated the schismatic Nestorians as a counterpoise. The head of the Nestorian church, the Catholicos, had his seat in the Sasanian capital city of Seleucia/Ctesiphon. Later after the Arab conquest, the Catholicos moved his seat to the new capital at Baghdad.

Some Byzantine Christians reached the area between the Caspian Sea and the Sir Darya, and to a limited extent the Armenians and Syrian Jacobites also

³⁸Lieu, *Manichaeism* 262.

³⁹See Lieu, *ibid.* ch. IX.

⁴⁰K. McNamara, "Theodore of Mopsuestia and the Nestorian Heresy," *Irish Theological Quarterly* 19 (1953) 254-278; 20 (1953) 172-191; R. Greer, *Theodore of Mopsuestia: Exegete and Theologian* (London: Faith, 1961).

penetrated into Central Asia,⁴¹ but it was especially the Nestorians, who through their merchants and diplomats, became the dominant Christians in Central Asia and in China. In 549 the Hephtalites or White Huns in Bactria (Afghanistan) asked the Catholicos for a Nestorian bishop.⁴²

It was after the fall of Sasanid Persia to the Arabs that we learn of the first Nestorian Christians in China. Kao-tsu, the first emperor of the T'ang Dynasty (618-907), in 626 had ordered the reduction of 130 Buddhist monasteries in the capital to three. But when his son, T'an-tsung, seized power with the aid of buddhists, the royal policy was reversed in favor of tolerance for all religions.

In 635 T'ao-tsung welcomed the first Nestorian missionary band, led by Alopen,⁴³ who had traveled the Silk Road to reach Ch'ang-an, the capital of T'ang China, and the largest city in the world at that time.⁴⁴ Some of the Christian Scriptures were translated and added to the royal library, which had 200,000 books.

We learn of the arrival of Alopen and his companions from the famous Nestorian Monument, erected in 781, which speaks of the arrival of missionaries from *Ta-ch'in-ching-chiao*, "the Church of Assyria." This

⁴¹On the expansion of the Syrian Jacobites, see J. Dauvillier, "L'expansion de l'église syrienne en Asie Centrale et en Extrême-Orient," *L'Orient Syrien* 1 (1956) 7687. On the expansion of the Armenians, see J. Dauvillier, "Les Arméniens en Chine et en Asie Centrale au Moyen Age" in *Mélanges de Sinologie offerts à M. Paul Demiéville* (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1974) II, 11-17.

⁴²B.E. Colless, "The Nestorian Province of Samarqand," *Abr Nahrain* 24 (1986) 51; see also A. Mingana, "The Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia and the Far East," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 9 (1925) 304.

⁴³Some scholars would identify Alopen with a general, Alohan, but this is unlikely. See A. Forte, "Il persiano Aluohan (676-710) nella capitale cinese Luoyang, sed del Cakravartin" in *Incontro di Religioni in Asia tra il III e il X Secolo d.C.* (ed. L. Lanciotti; Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1934) 169-198.

⁴⁴See A.F. Wright, "Tch-ang-ngan, 583-904, esquisse historique" in *Mélanges de Sinologie II* 355-350.

extraordinarily important inscription was discovered in 1623 at Modern (ancient Chang-an). It is a black limestone stele, 9 feet high and 3 feet wide, inscribed in Chinese ideographs and also in Syriac. There are 1,756 Chinese characters and 70 Syriac words, the latter the names of missionaries.⁴⁵ At the top is a Maltese cross rising from a lotus, with the inscription: "A Monument commemorating the propagation of Ta-ch'in (Syriac) Luminous Religion in China."

The Monument proved to be a great boon to the Jesuits, as it showed that Christianity was an ancient revelation. According to J. Stewart:

The discovery of the monument caused such excitement and contributed so much to the success of the Jesuit missionaries of that period that in A.D. 1637, according to Abbe Huc, there were 40,000 Christians in several provinces. The emperor could no longer argue against Christianity on the ground that it was new religion, seeing it was now proved that it had been there a thousand years earlier.⁴⁶

Other scholars denounced it as a forgery. Voltaire was especially caustic in dismissing it as but "a pious fraud of the Jesuits to deceive the Chinese." Chinese scholars, however, have never doubted its genuineness.

The Nestorian Monument reads:

Whereupon one person of our Trinity, the Messiah, who is the Luminous Lord of the Universe, folding up Himself and concealing His Divine Majesty, appeared upon earth as a man. Angels proclaimed the Good Tidings. A virgin gave birth to the Holy One in Ta-ch'in [Syria].

⁴⁵See the appendix in *A History of Christianity in Asia I: Beginnings to 1500* (New York: Harper Collins, 1992). On this important new history, see my review in *American Historical Review* 99 (1994) 617.

⁴⁶*Nestorian Missionary Enterprise* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1928; New York: AMS, 1980 repr.) 175.

⁴⁷*Ibid.* 173.

bright star announced the blessed event. Persians saw the splendour and came forth with their tribute.⁴⁸

The Nestorian Monument speaks of the Trinity, the creation, the birth of the Messiah through a virgin, and salvation through him. It calls upon Christians to witness, to repudiate slavery, to give to the poor, and to pray seven times a day. But there is no reference to the crucifixion, except possibly in the phrase "hanging up the . . . sun." In other Nestorian documents the cross was represented by the Chinese signs for "tree" or "ten." Moule believes that the cross took on a magical symbol as a charm.⁴⁹ There are to be sure many tombstones in China with Nestorian crosses on them.⁵⁰

On the other hand, in the Nestorian Monument there are also Buddhist phrases such as "the eight cardinal virtues," and "He took an oar in the vessel of mercy,"⁵¹ and Taoist ones such as "teaching of non-assertion." "How to rule both families and kingdoms" is derived from Confucian ideas.

To shed light on the nature of Nestorian Christianity in China, we have in addition to the Nestorian Monument precious documents from the amazing Tun-Huang hoard. Tun-huang "Blazing Beacon" is in the heart of the Gobi Desert on the extreme northwest frontier of China. It is the last caravan stop before the Silk Road splits into a northern and a southern route to bypass the Taklamakan Desert. There are hundreds of decorated Buddhist grottoes, carved out of the hills since A.D. 366. About 30,000 mainly Buddhist manuscripts had been sealed for a thousand years behind a wall in cave no. 17. This treasure trove was discovered *ca.* 1900, and placed under the guard

⁴⁸Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia I* 514-515.

⁴⁹A.C. Moule, "The Use of the Cross among the Nestorians in China," *T'oung Pao* 23 (1931) 78-87.

⁵⁰See K. Enoki, "The Nestorian Christianity in China in Mediaeval Time According to Recent Historical and Archaeological Researches" in *L'Oriente Cristiano nella Storia della Civiltà* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1964) 49-50.

⁵¹For the use of other Buddhist terms by the Nestorians, see P. Pelliot, "Deux titres bouddhiques portés par des religieux nestoriens," *T'oung Pao* 12 (911) 664-670.

of a Taoist priest named Wang Yuanlu. It was Aurel Stein (d. 1943), the indefatigable traveler, who in 1907 gained the confidence of the priest. Stein recorded his amazement at his first sight of the hidden library:

Heaped up in layers, but without any order, there appeared in the dim light of the priest's little lamp a solid mass of manuscript bundles rising to a height of nearly ten feet, and filling, as subsequent measurements showed, close on 500 cubic feet.⁵³

Stein patiently succeeded in obtaining 7,000 complete manuscripts for the British Museum for a rather nominal sum of 130 pounds. Unfortunately Stein could not read Chinese, so he acquired many duplicates. The French Sinologist, Paul Pelliot, arrived about a year later, and was like Stein stupefied at the sight. He recalled, "During the first ten days . . . I attacked nearly a thousand scrolls a day, which must be a record."⁵⁴ Pelliot bought 6,000 manuscripts for about 90 pounds. There are evidently still manuscripts recoverable from the area. Hopkirk reports, "When Irene Vincent, an American art historian, visited Tun-huang in 1948 she heard rumours of manuscripts and paintings still 'cached away' in houses in the area, while as recently as 1977 a Swedish oriental bookseller was able to offer several Tun-huang manuscripts in his catalogue."⁵⁵

Among the Tun-Huang collection are several manuscripts from the Nestorians.⁵⁶ The earliest manuscript, "The Jesus-Messiah Sutra" (Hsü-tin

⁵²See J. Mirsky, *Sir Aurel Stein* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971) ch. 14; E. Knobloch, *Beyond the Oxus* (London: Ernest Benn; Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1972) 224-226.

⁵³Hopkirk, *Foreign Devils on the Silk Road* 165.

⁵⁴*Ibid.* 184.

⁵⁵*Ibid.* 240.

⁵⁶For a brief discussion of these documents, see D.D. Bundy, "Missiologica: Reflections on Nestorian Christianity in China during the Tang Dynasty" in *Religion in the Pacific Era* (ed. F.F. Flinn and T. Hendricks; New York: Paragon, 1985) 17-19.

mi shih-so ching), which Saeki suggests was written by Alopen himself, is a good summary of the life of Jesus following Luke's Gospel.⁵⁷ A "Discourse on Monotheism" (I-shên lun), a lengthy treatise written ca. 642, is an argument for the unity of the Godhead.

It is clear from examining not only the Nestorian Monument but especially the later Tun-huang manuscripts, that the Nestorians quite consciously and increasingly used Buddhist and Taoist terms. The Nestorian manuscript on "Four Laws" reveals many parallels to Buddhist teachings such as the need of emancipation from the region of desire, the four laws (cf. Four Noble Truths), the ten precepts (cf. tenfold Bodhisatta ways), the state of enlightenment, and the state of rest and joy (cf. Nirvana).⁵⁸ To find phonetic equivalents for Jesus, i.e. "I-Shu," they chose ideograms which had the literal meanings of "Remove Rat."

J. Legge judged that these elements indicated that Nestorianism represented a degenerate, nominal Christianity.⁵⁹ On the other hand, J. Dauvillier and A. Guillaumont believe that the fact that the Buddhists themselves reacted negatively to the Nestorians, demonstrates the authenticity of their Christianity.⁶⁰ S. H. Moffett concludes:

Only in two of the works, the "Sutra of Mysterious Rest and Joy"⁶¹ and the "Sutra on the Origin of Origins," are the touches of Christian

⁵⁷P.Y. Saeki, *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China* (Tokyo: The Academy of Oriental Culture, 1937) 17-19.

⁵⁸See P. Chung-Hang Chiu, *An Historical Study of Nestorian Christianity in the T'ang Dynasty between A.D. 635-845* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1988) 251.

⁵⁹*The Nestorian Monument of Hsi-an Fu in Shen-hsi, China* (repr. ed.; New York: Paragon, 1966).

⁶⁰*Recherches sur les Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extrême-Orient II, I: La Stèle de Si-ngan-fou* (ed. P. Pelliot; Paris: Fondations Singer-Polignac, 1984) 80: "L'authenticité de leur christianisme est confirmée par les attaques venues des buddhistes."

⁶¹See Saeki, *The Nestorian Documents* ch. XI.

language so few and so vague and the Taoist imagery so vivid that mixture is closer to syncretism than to missionary contextualization.⁶²

With regard to the first of these two compositions, J.H. Bentley comments:

The Jesus of the treatise even likened himself explicitly to Laozi, the legendary founder of Daoism, by mentioning ten streaks on his face marks traditionally associated with the ancient sage. In the light of the "Sutra on Mysterious Rest and Joy," it is not difficult to understand how Nestorians in China could make a relatively easy transit from Christianity to Daoism through a process of conversion by assimilation.⁶³

Though they continued to receive royal patronage under Kao-tung (648-683), the Nestorians were persecuted under the usurper, the Empress Wu (690-705). Christians, however, recovered and established numerous monasteries. Timothy I, the Nestorian patriarch in Seleucia, refers in a letter in 781 to the Christians in China. He also mentions a metropolitan bishop in Tibet.⁶⁴ Then severe persecutions decimated the church between 840 and 846. By 987 a monk who traveled to China was able to find only a single Christian in the land.

Nestorian Christianity, however, continued to flourish among the tribes on the fringes of Chinese territory. Turks had written to Timothy I for a priest and a metropolitan bishop. Timothy sent 80 monks, two bishops for Bukhara and Tashkent, and a metropolitan for Samarkand. In the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries the Nestorians pushed northeastwards toward Lake Baikal in Siberia, converting Keraites, Uighurs, Naimans and Merkites. About 1009 Abdishu, the bishop of Merv in Khurasan, wrote to the Nestorian Catholicos about the miraculous conversion of the chief of the Keraites, along with 20,000 of his people who lived near the Orkhon River and Lake

⁶²Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia* I 306.

⁶³*Old World Encounters* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993) 109.

⁶⁴See B.E. Colless, "The Traders of the Pearl," *Abr-Nahrain* 18 (1980) 9-10.

Baikal.⁶⁶ This may have been the basis of the legend about a mysterious Christian kingdom of Prester John which developed at the time of the Crusades in the 12th and 13th centuries. The first reference to such a king appeared in a letter of 1145 from Otto de Freising in Syria to Pope Eugene III.⁶⁷

Originally named Temüjin, but known after 1206 as Chingiz or Genghis Khan, the great Mongol general, defeated in turn the Tatars, Naimans, and Merkits.⁶⁸ Genghis's daughter-in-law, Sorkaktani of Kerait, who was the mother of Mongka, Kubilai, and Hulegu, was a Nestorian Christian. Hulegu's wife Dokuz, another Kerait princess, was a zealous Christian, who traveled with a portable chapel.⁶⁹ Genghis exempted various religious groups from taxation. The tradition that Genghis adopted Buddhism originated in later Mongol and Tibetan accounts.

Whereas Genghis was the invincible conqueror who by his widespread military victories created the huge Mongol Empire, it was his grandson Kubilai, who received Marco Polo (1265-1323) at his capital, Khanbaliq (Peking). Under the Mongol or Yuan Dynasty (1260-1367) the Nestorian Christians exercised considerable influence. The Syriac script of the Uighurs,

which like that of the Nestorians and Manichaeans, went back to Estrangelo was adapted by the Mongols for their writing (and later by the Manchus).⁷⁰

Kubilai appointed a Nestorian as director of Western Astronomy and Medicine in 1263. In 1289 he established a special office, Tch'oung fou Se to supervise the Christians in his realm as well as Taoist and Islamic cults. Though he allowed incense to be burned before him by Nestorian priests, and kissed the Gospels on the feasts of Easter and Christmas, he was himself primarily a shamanist.⁷² He asked the pope to send a hundred teachers of science and religion.⁷³

The Nestorians, who enjoyed Mongol patronage, were understandably reluctant to share these privileges with the missionaries sent by the pope and Catholic monarchs. The earliest first-hand report on the Mongols was brought back by the papal messenger, John of Plano Carpini, who arrived at Karakorum in 1246, just before Guyuk was confirmed as the Great Khan. William of Rubruck, a Franciscan, was sent in 1253 with the blessings of St. Louis of France to the court of Khan Mongke at Karakorum, where he encountered many Nestorians. He complained:

The Nestorians there know nothing. They say their offices and have the sacred books in Syriac, a language of which they are ignorant, and so the

⁶⁶Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia I* 400-402.

⁶⁷H. Cordier, "Le Christianisme en Chine et en Asie Centrale sous les Mongols," *T'oung Pao* 18 (1917) 52. The rumors of Genghis Khan's defeating the Muslims inspired hope of a Christian "King David" as noted by Pope Honorius III in 1221. See L. Kwanten, *Imperial Nomads* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979) 174.

⁶⁸P. Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan: His Life and Legacy* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993).

⁶⁹Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia I* 422; Dawson, *The Mongol Mission* xxv; cf. P. Pelliot, "Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extrême Orient," *T'oung Pao* ser. 2, 15 (1914) 623 ff.; cf. G.W. Houston, "An Overview of Nestorians in Inner Asia," *Central Asiatic Journal* 24 (1980) 65-66.

⁷⁰W. Hage, "Kulturelle Kontakte des ostsyrischen Christentums in Zentralasien," *Sympasium Syriacum 1980* (Rome: Pontificium Orientalium Studiorum, 1982) 155; Chung, *Chinese Religions* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1993) 189.

⁷¹Cordier, "Le Christianisme en Chine et en Asie Centrale sous les Mongols" 69. Kubilai also established an office of Buddhist affairs, headed by a Tibetan monk. See Kwanten, *Imperial Nomads* 153.

⁷²Houston, "An Overview of Nestorians" 216. On Shamanism, see M. Eliade, *Shamanism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974); V. Diószegi and M. Hoppál, eds., *Shamanism in Siberia* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1976); A.L. Siikal and M. Hoppál, eds., *Studies on Shamanism* (Helsinki: Finnish Anthropological Society, 1992).

⁷³See Paul Pelliot, *Mongols et la papauté* (2 vols.: Paris: Librairie Auguste Picard, 1923).

sing like our monks who know no grammar, and this accounts for the fact that they are completely corrupt. In the first place they are usurers and drunkards, and some of them who are with the Tartars even have several wives like them. When they enter a church they wash their lower members like the Saracens; they eat meat on Fridays and have feasting on that day after the Saracen custom.

The bishop puts off coming into these regions; he comes perhaps scarcely once in fifty years. When he does come, they have all the little male children, even those still in their cradles, ordained priests, consequently almost all their men are priests, and after this they marry, which is clearly contrary to the decrees of the Fathers, and they are bigamists, for when their first wife dies these priests take another. They are also all of them simoniacal, administering no sacrament without payment.

They look after their wives and children well, consequently they pay more attention to gaining money than spreading the faith, whence it comes about that when any of them bring up sons of Mongol noblemen, although they teach them the Gospel and the faith, yet by their evil life and greed they rather alienate them from the Christian religion, for the lives of the Mongols themselves and even of the tuins, that is the pagans, are more innocent than theirs.⁷⁴

William also criticized them for the way they prayed, lifting their hands to the sky, and not joining their hands together as the Catholics did.⁷⁵ The Nestorians did not offer communion to other Christians in their camp such as the Hungarians, Alans, Russians, Georgians and Armenians.⁷⁶ But William reported that the Nestorians welcomed him as a fellow Christian.⁷⁷ On Palm

⁷⁴Dawson, *The Mongol Mission* 144-145. See P. Pelliot, *Recherches sur les Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'extrême-orient* (ed. J. Dauvillier and L. Hambis; Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1973) 136; for the Latin text, and commentary, see pp. 137-140.

⁷⁵Ibid. 123.

⁷⁶Ibid. 184.

⁷⁷Ibid. 185.

Sunday, they invited him to receive communion but he declined on the ostensible ground that he had not fasted.⁷⁸

The most unexpected development of this period was the elevation of two Christians from the Far East to positions of eminence in the Nestorian hierarchy. We learn about this amazing story from a Syriac account which was first published by Bedjan in 1888, and in English by E. A. W. Budge in 1928.⁷⁹ Mark, the son of an archdeacon of Koshang, the capital of the Onguts,⁸⁰ later became a monk, under the guidance of an older companion (Rabban or Bar) Sauma, who had been born in Peking. The *History of Yaballaha* unfortunately does not specify the ethnic background of Mark or of Sauma. Mingana believed that Mark was Chinese.⁸¹ But an Arabic Nestorian writer spoke of Mark as a "Turk"; the Jacobite Bar Hebraeus indicated in a gloss that he thought this meant Uighur. Pelliot has argued that he was probably an Ongut.⁸²

Together Mark and Sauma traveled west from Kashgar to Baghdad. In 1280 Mark was consecrated by the Nestorian catholicos as Metropolitan for China. Then when the patriarch unexpectedly died, Mark was elevated in 1280 under the Syriac name Yaballaha ("God Has Given") as the Catholicos of the Nestorians, though he protested that he did not know Syriac. The church wanted him because he knew Mongol, and the Mongols were then the

⁷⁸For the full text of William of Rubruck, see Dawson, *The Mongol Mission* 89 ff.

⁷⁹E.A. Budge, *The Monks of Kúblai Khán* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1928).

⁸⁰Enoki, "The Nestorian Christianity in China" 46.

⁸¹Mingana, "The Early Spread of Christianity" 329.

⁸²Pelliot, *Recherches sur les Chrétiens* 242-247; he first expressed this view in his article, "Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'extrême-Orient," *T'oung Poo* ser. 2, 15 (1914) 624. Dawson (*The Mongol Mission* xxcii) believed that he was a Mongolian Turk, probably an Ongut. At one point Moffett (*A History of Christianity* 411) identifies Mark as an Uighur, and elsewhere (Moffett, *ibid.* 413) as possibly an Ongut.

dominant ruling power. His companion Sauma was sent on a diplomatic expedition in 1287 by the Khan Arghun to Europe. In his travels he met Philip IV of France, and Edward I of England. While in Rome he was given leave to celebrate mass according to his rite, and received communion from the Pope Nicholas IV's hands.

John of Monte Corvino, who arrived as the papal legate in Khanbaliq in 1294 shortly after the death of Kubilai, complained, "The Nestorians . . . have grown so powerful in Cathay that they will not allow a Christian of another ritual to have ever so small a chapel."⁸³ Nevertheless, John was able to claim 6,000 converts by 1305, including 150 boys whom he taught Latin and Greek. He won over the Nestorian chieftain George of the Onguts, but after his death his people reverted to Nestorianism. In 1307 John was consecrated as the Catholic archbishop of Khanbalik, where he served with considerable success for twenty years despite the opposition of the Nestorians. He reported:

However the Nestorians, who call themselves Christians, but behave in a very unchristian manner, . . . so the aforesaid Nestorians both directly and by the bribery of others have brought most grievous persecutions upon me, declaring that I was not sent by the Lord Pope but that I was a spy, a magician and a deceiver of men.

Moreover I have baptized about 6,000 persons there up to the present, according to my reckoning. And if It had not been for the aforesaid slanders I might have baptized 30,000 more, for I am constantly baptizing.⁸⁴

Bentley observes, "Perhaps even more serious a blow to Roman Catholic missions was their failure to win the cooperation and support of Nestorians in China."⁸⁵ If the Nestorians assimilated too much to the Chinese culture, the early Catholic missionaries adapted too little according to Bentley:

⁸³Cited in Mingana, "The Early Spread of Christianity" 316.

⁸⁴Dawson, *The Mongol Mission* 224-225.

⁸⁵Bentley, *Old World Encounters* 159.

Meanwhile, Catholic missionaries did not find a way to articulate their message so as to attract the attention and allegiance of Mongols, Chinese, or other peoples in the Mongols' empire. Possibly they placed so high a value on doctrinal precision, Latin language, and Roman liturgy that Mongols and Chinese found their faith too alien to understand or accept.⁸⁶

With the collapse of the Mongol dynasty, the Nestorians also suffered an eclipse. The new Ming Dynasty tolerated only Taoism and Buddhism. Some Nestorians seem to have survived in the southern port city of Zaytun during the 11th to the 14th centuries.⁸⁷ When the Jesuits entered China in the 16th century, they encountered no Christians.⁸⁸

The failure of the Nestorians to affect China more profoundly has been debated by many scholars. One revealing fact is that all of the 76 names on the Nestorian Monument seem to be non-Chinese. This means that even after a century and a half, the Nestorians had not trained any nationals to take positions of responsibility.⁸⁹ K.S. Latourette observes,

In the first place, Nestorian Christianity appears never to have ceased to be primarily the faith of a foreign community. Its chief adherents were non-Chinese peoples who were resident in the Middle Kingdom under the powerful T'ang Emperors either as merchants, soldiers, or missionaries.⁹⁰

⁸⁶Ibid. 162. According to Lieu, *Manichaeism* 249, the later Jesuits, who started their mission in 1582, were condemned by Pope Clement XI (1700-1721) for accommodating themselves too much to Chinese culture.

⁸⁷Enoki, "The Nestorian Christianity in China" 55, 62; Pelliot, *Recherches sur les Chrétiens* 135.

⁸⁸In 1933 Nestorian Christians were reported among the Erküt tribe of the Ordos Mongols. See Ching, *Chinese Religions* 189.

⁸⁹Chiu, *An Historical Study of Nestorian Christianity* 278 ff.

⁹⁰*A History of Christian Missions in China* (New York: Macmillan, 1929) 58.

Scholars such as Chiu argue that more fatal than any syncretism was the dependence of the church on royal patronage; when the dynasties fell out of favor, the church also fell out of fashion.⁹¹ This is also the conclusion of Moffett:

If any conclusion at all can be drawn from these various attempts to explain the cause of the collapse of the Chinese church in T'ang dynasty China, it should probably be that the decisive factor was neither religious persecution, nor theological compromise, nor even its foreignness, but rather the fall of an imperial house on which the church had too long relied for its patronage and protection. Dependence on government is a dangerous and uncertain foundation for Christian survival.⁹²

In historical hindsight, we also need to remember that it took about 500 years for Buddhism to be accepted as a national Chinese rather than as a foreign religion.⁹³

CONCLUSION

We have examined two religious movements that moved eastwards, adapting themselves to new cultures and in various degrees assimilating new elements. Both Manichaeism and Nestorian Christianity took similar paths from Mesopotamia/Persia through Sogdia along the Silk Road to Central Asia and China. Manichaeism as a syncretistic, Gnostic religion intentionally and Nestorian Christianity pragmatically both assimilated many Buddhist elements, but still retained their essential belief systems. Manichaeism even succeeded in becoming the state religion of an important Uighur Kingdom on the Silk Road, while the Nestorians played significant roles in the Mongol Empire. Their fortunes, however, in being linked to secular powers, also shared in their misfortunes.

⁹¹*An Historical Study of Nestorian Christianity* 191.

⁹²*An Historical of Christianity* 313.

⁹³Lieu, *Manichaeism* 233. Cf. E. Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1959); E. Conze, *A Short History of Buddhism* (Oxford: Oneworld, 1993).

Copy

150 Leabrook Lane
Princeton, NJ 08540
Dec. 1, 1995

Mr. John Shopp
HarperSanFrancisco
1160 Battery St., 3rd Floor
San Francisco, CA, 94111-1213

Dear Mr. Shopp:

My attention has been called to a significant error in the footnoting on pages 347 and 368 of Vol. I of A History of Christianity in Asia, which will surely need correction if, as I hope, the book survives to a second edition and a paperback. It seems to be catching on as a textbook and is now required here at Princeton Theological Seminary for purchase by students in the large introductory church history course. What Princeton does others usually follow in the mainline seminaries, and in evangelical seminaries the book is increasingly popular.

The footnote error begins with #77 and #78 on p. 347. Correcting it will be complicated so I will enclose a corrected xerox copy of the pages affected. The problem is that the footnote numbering #77 to #82 in the chapter text (347,348) do not synchronize with the same numbering in the footnote text (p. 368).

The simplest way of correcting this, I think, will be to combine #77 and #78 into one footnote, and to divide #82 into two footnotes. This will avoid the necessity of renumbering all footnote numbers from there to the end of the chapter. But it will require changes as follows (marked on the xerox pp. enclosed):

Move #77 (p. 347) down 5 lines to [..he died.77].
Change footnote text of #77 (p.368) to: "This is in part an oversimplification. Umar II's tax policy..." Delete the phrases "See the next note' and "concerning this period".

On p. 368, renumber footnote numbers and revise footnote texts as marked:

#79 should be 78 ; correcting its text to: "Hitti, History of the Arabs, 222, 281 f.; see also Albert Hourani, A History of the Arab Peoples, (Cambridge MA: Harvard U. Press, 1991), 30-33.

#80 should be 79; correcting its text to: A collateral Umayyad dynasty survived in Spain until 1031, See Tritton, Caliphs, 22, 45, 79 f.; Hitti, History of the Arabs, 234. The Khalid referred to is Khalid ul Kasri.

#81 should be 80. Text unchanged.

#82 should be split in two, and numbered 81 and 82:

#81 should read "Browne, Eclipse of Christianity, 51, citing Mari (ed. Gismondi) and Assemani (Bibliotheca Orientalis). Cf. Hitti, History of the Arabs, pp. 355 f.

#82 should read "The more noted 'Abbasid caliphs, as listed by their royal titles, were

1. al-Saffah (749/50-754), whose personal name, Abul 'Abbas, gave his dynasty the name 'Abbasid.

2. al-Mansur....." [continuing to 23.al-Muti].

And Add at the footnote end: "See the list of 'Abbasids in Hourani, History of the Arab Peoples, 488. Cf. Hitti, History of the Arabs, (288, 297, 466, 470, 473, 479, 486."

You already have my listing of other errata needing correction elsewhere, but I enclose another copy. The misspelling of Seleucia Ctesiphon on the maps, pp. xviii and xxii, and the misleading text of the legend on the map, p. xxvi, are the most vexing. The latter was probably my error. Instead of "Surviving Centers of Christianity", it should read "Surviving Centers of Nestorian Christianity", or "... of Nestorianism".

I apologize for making this so complicated. If you see a better way to make the corrections, please do so. Power to you.

Sincerely,

Samuel Hugh Moffett

150 Leabrook Lane
Princeton, N.J. 08540
January 5, 1992

Mr. John Shopp, HarperSanFrancisco
Icehouse One--401, 151 Union Street
San Francisco, California 94111-1299

Dear John:

It is important to try to make two changes in Chapter 3 before the text is set in concrete. That will be very soon, I know. But I have not yet seen galley proofs. All I have been sent are what are labelled either "Pass One" or "OUTPUT". One more set will be coming, so I think it is not too late.

The changes are on pp. 45, and 88, in Chapter 3 "The Church of the East: The Syrian Period".

On p. 45 (the chapter's title page), the attribution to the last quotation (the first quotation I marked for deletion), should read:


— Misiha-zkha, in Sources Syriaques (Mingana), sixth century (?).

On p. 88, footnote 91 should read:

On the date and authenticity of the Arbela Chronicle, also known as "The History of the Church of Adiabene", edited by A. Mingana and attributed to a Syrian writer, Msiha-zkha, see Samir Khalil Samir, Alphonse Mingana, 1878-1937, Occasional Paper No. 7 (Birmingham, England: Selly Oak Colleges, 1990) which was called to my attention by Prof. Sidney Griffith. See also the sharp criticisms of Mingana by J. M. Fiey, "Auteur et date de la chronique d'Arbeles" in L'Orient Syrien 12 (1967) 265-302; and the more positive comments of S. P. Brock in Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 50 (1967) 200; and the spirited defense of the accuracy of the earlier parts of the history up to the Great Persecution in 340 AD by W. G. Young, Patriarch, Shah and Caliph (Rawalpindi, India, 1974. See also J. Neusner, "The Conversion of Adiabene to Christianity", in Numen 12 (1966) 144-150; and Wolfgang Hage, "Early Christianity in Mesopotamia: some remarks concerning the authenticity of the Chronicle of Arbela", in The Harp 1:2 & 3 (Kottayam, India: 1988) 39-46.

The reason for my concern about making these corrections is that the work is the center of considerable debate by historians, and I must be careful in how I cite it. I hope you can help me.

Sincerely yours,



Samuel Hugh Moffett

e. Terry Goff

P.S. What should I be doing about an index. Should I ask for help? Can Harper Collins do it?

FERRATA

Add to Table

Burma, 40

Japan 455

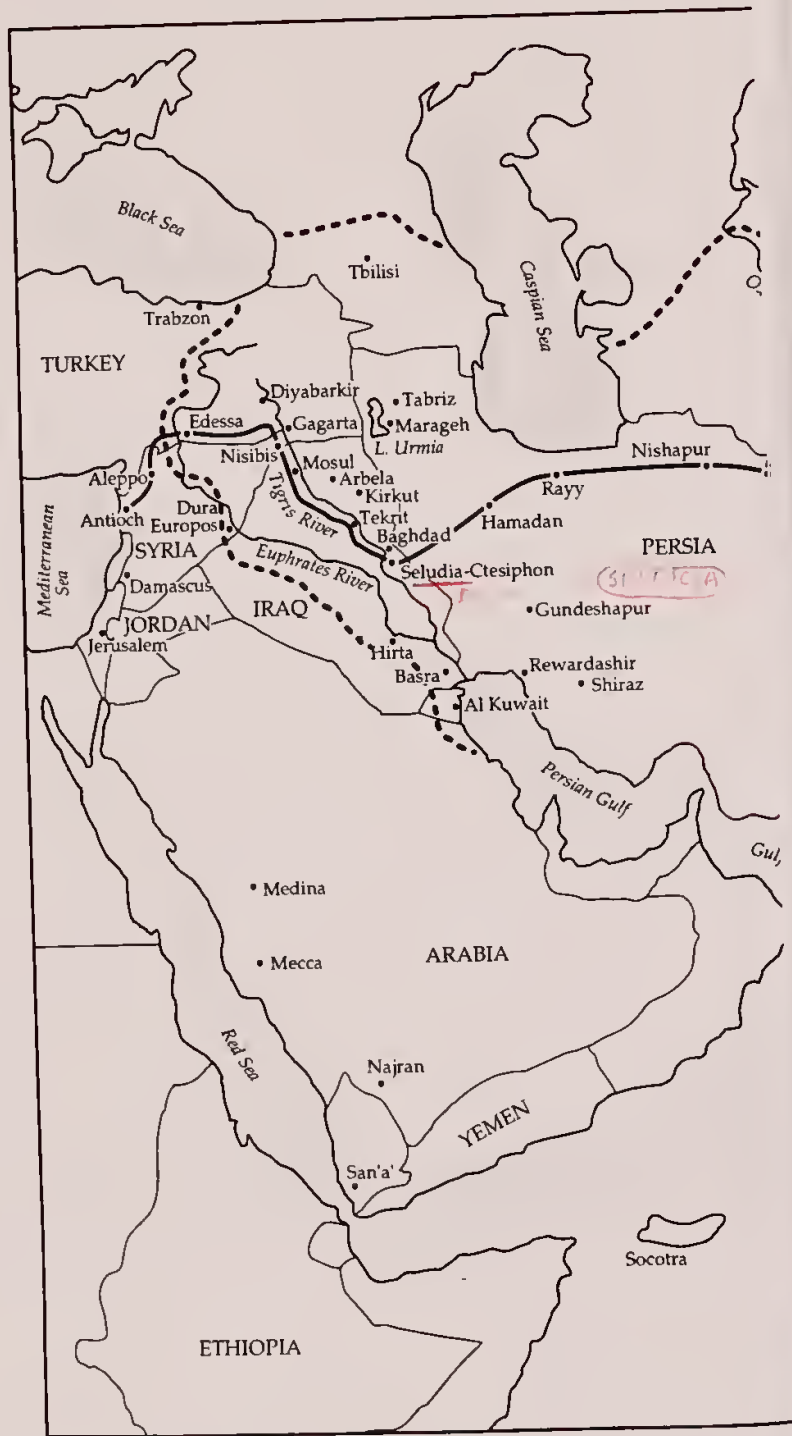
Korea 461

S. Korea 461

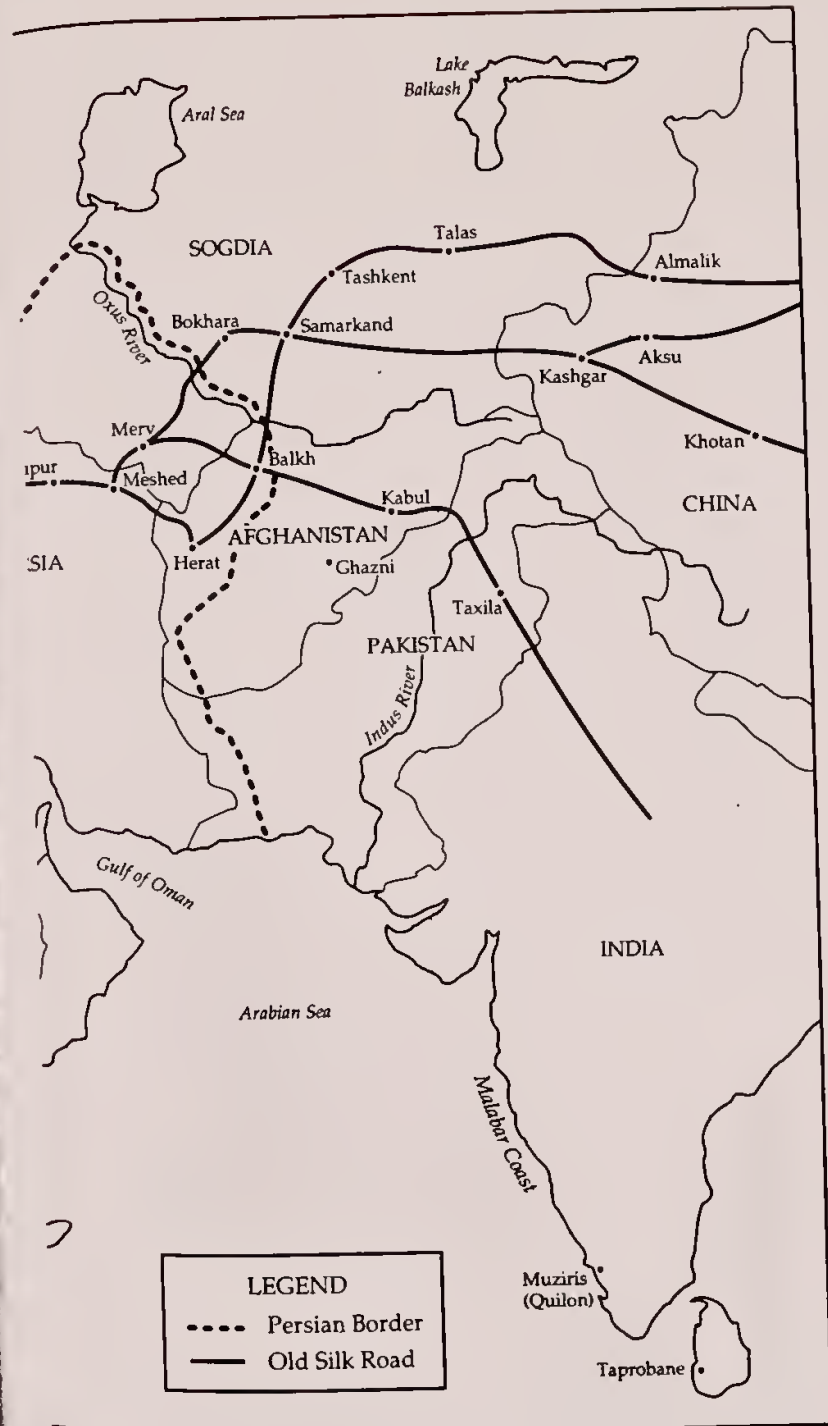
Indonesia 401

Women, influence.

Add to Bibliography - Hourani, A History of the Arab Peoples (Cambridge MA: Harvard U. Press, 1991)



West Asia and the Sassanid Empire, ca. A.D. 600



LEGEND
 - - - Persian Border
 — Old Silk Road



PRINCETON
THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY

150 Leabrook Lane
Princeton, N.J. 08540
December 25, 1996

Sidney H. Griffith
Institute of Christian Oriental Research
18 Mullen Library
The Catholic University of America
Washington, D.C. 20064

Dear Sidney:

Volume I of A History of Christianity in Asia has sold out, and HarperCollins are thinking of putting out a paperback of it. I hope they will. In fact two other publishers have written expressing an interest in securing rights for such an edition.

If they do, I am strongly urging a corrected and revised 2nd ed. There are too many typos and mistakes, though so many foreign names made it difficult to proofread. I made my own mistakes, of course. The Armenians are sad that I ignored them, and I think that was a mistake.

But it has already been translated and published in Korean, and a Chinese translation is in process.

Anyway, if I can get a revised edition, I hope this time the important information you gave me about Mingana will get into the footnote correction which I sent too late to make the printing. Enclosed is a copy of the letter in which I tried to call for a rewording. The highlighted section is the addition.

I am most grateful to you for what you did for me, even if it didn't make the first printing. The highlighted phrases are what you enabled me to add. If you have other suggestions for corrections or improvements, you would be doing me a great favor by passing them along.

And I hope we see you again up here before too long. We wish you a very happy New Year.

Sincerely yours

Samuel Hugh Moffett

Samuel Hugh Moffett, Henry Winters Luce Professor of Ecumenics and Mission Emeritus

150 Leabrook Lane, Princeton, NJ 08540

150 Leabrook Lane
Princeton, N.J. 08540
January 5, 1992

Mr. John Shopp, HarperSanFrancisco
Icehouse One--401, 151 Union Street
San Francisco, California 94111-1299

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Sincerely yours,



Samuel Hugh Moffett

e. Terry Goff

P.S. What should I be doing about an index. Should I ask for help? Can Harper Collins do it?



THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

*Institute of Christian Oriental Research
Washington, D.C. 20064*

December 12, 1991

Sam Moffett
Princeton Theological Seminary

Dear Sam,

I was delighted to make your acquaintance on the occasion of our brief encounter at the Xerox machine in Hodge Hall last Monday. Here are the photocopies which I promised to leave for you this Monday. I hope you will find them interesting and useful for your work. You will notice that the Chronicle of Arbela was no small part of Mingana's troubles with his own ecclesiastical authorities.

I am quite excited about your forthcoming book and I am looking forward to its appearance. I'm glad our chance meeting brought me knowledge of it. If there is any way that we here at the Institute of Christian Oriental Research of The Catholic University of America can be of help to you, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely,

Sidney H. Griffith
Institute of Christian Oriental
Research (ICOR)
18 Mullen Library
The Catholic University of America
Washington, D.C. 20064

tel.(202) 319-5084

BIBLE

Tj. Baarda

Essays on the Diatessaron

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Tj. Baarda

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James A. Loader

A Tale of Two Cities

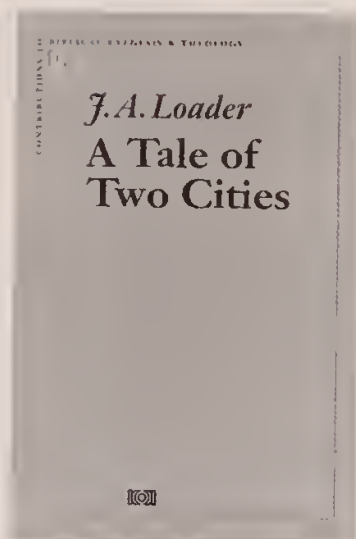
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Pieter W. van der Horst

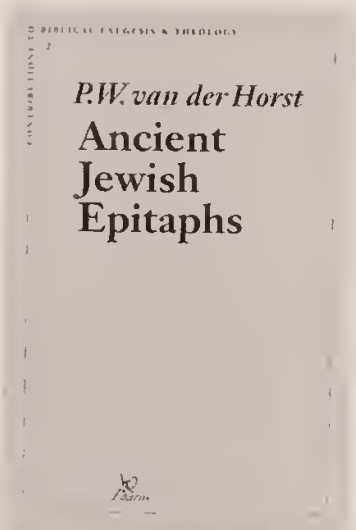
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Research Enablement Program

Gerald H. Anderson
Director
Geoffrey A. Little
Coordinator

OMSC**MEMORANDUM**

TO: All REP Grantees
FROM: Geoffrey A. Little, REP Coordinator *GAL*
DATE: 28 March 1996
SUBJECT: Grantee Questionnaire

At this time we are in the process of preparing for a thorough evaluation of the first five years of the Research Enablement Program. To assist us in this evaluation, I would like to ask you to provide complete information concerning the scholarly outputs of your REP grant. Please respond to the attached questionnaire as completely as possible and return it to the REP office by 1 May 1996.

Let me remind you that you are required to send the REP office two copies of any publication produced as a result of your grant.

In addition, any publications resulting from your grant should bear the following acknowledgement approved by the Overseas Ministries Study Center and The Pew Charitable Trusts. The wording of this statement may be translated but should not be altered in any way.

"Funding for research leading to this publication was provided by the Research Enablement Program, a grant program for mission scholarship supported by The Pew Charitable Trusts, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., and administered by the Overseas Ministries Study Center, New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A."

Many thanks for your continued support of REP.

GAL:srr

Attachment

complete in their directions. Buddha, for example, claimed discoverer of an old path, long lost, which led to the reality of that he succeeded only in establishing one more idol among many. Lao-Tse, the Chinese philosopher, called his teaching "The Way" except for a select few, most people today have not so much of Lao-Tse, much less followed his "Way." Confucius, Socrates, and Plato—all sought a new way to the heart of God, but they were unable to add to the pall of contradiction and confusion. True, men worship God and get started on the way to him by following the teachings of these men, but it is Jesus alone who remains the way, the truth, and the life; and no man comes to the Father but by him.

It does not mean that we come to God by intellectually accepting propositions about Christ or by agreeing to certain theological statements. To "believe" in Jesus Christ and follow the way he led is not an intellectual exercise; it is, rather, a decision of the will, an experience of the heart. The way to our home in God is, literally, through Christ. We enter into him so that his life becomes our life, his will our will, his nature our nature. This is a great mystery, I admit. As G. K. Chesterton, the English essayist and critic once said,

"Good news—but if you ask me what it is I know not.
It is a track of feet in the snow;
It is a lantern showing a path;
It is a door set open."

The first clue to the meaning we seek is at the Cross. As Jesus went to the Cross to prepare a home for us, so we must go to the Cross if we are to be at home. It is at the Cross, the place of sacrifice and suffering, that God and Christ is born in our hearts. Therefore, the way of the Cross is the way of self-surrender, and to enter into Christ means to surrender our self-will and immerse self in unconditional love of others. This is the significance of the Cross for us today, in that it is to us the eternal invitation of self-sacrifice, of self-emptying love; this is the only way to be prepared for us in the heart of God the Father. So, "the way" to heaven is the way in the heart of God, prepared for us by Christ, is to forget ourself and our needs as we devote our lives to the needs of others, to *serve* rather than *be served*. We are with God in heaven when we are with our brother man.

Life is within our grasp; let us reach forth and take it. Christ has prepared it for us.

Orthodoxy and Heresy in Primitive Christianity

Some critical remarks on Georg Strecker's republication of Walter Bauer's *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum*

by HANS DIETER BETZ

IT IS PRESUPPOSED by those who planned this meeting¹ that Walter Bauer's *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Primitive Christianity*² is of relevance for the question of the legacy of Rudolf Bultmann, the topic of this year's meeting. If that is true, then the republication of that book has all the more relevance! It is not so obvious, however, what the relationship between Bauer and Bultmann precisely is. A careful study of this question (which, however, is not our task here) would show some important aspects of the history of New Testament research in the first half of this century.

Bultmann refers to Bauer's work in the third part of his *Theology of the New Testament* under the title "The Development Toward the Ancient Church." In §55, "The problem of right teaching and the rise of the New Testament canon," Bultmann approves Bauer's thesis:

W. Bauer has shown that that doctrine which in the end won out in the ancient Church as the "right" or "orthodox" doctrine stands at the end of a development or, rather, is the result of a conflict among various shades of doctrine, and that heresy was not, as the ecclesiastical tradition holds, an apostasy, a degeneration, but was already present at the beginning—or, rather, that by the triumph of a certain teaching as the "right doctrine" divergent teachings were condemned as heresy. Bauer also showed it to be probable that in this conflict the Roman congregation played a decisive role.³

It must be noted that Bultmann's formulations are very careful with regard to the beginning of the process which finally leads to "orthodoxy"

1. A paper read at the New Testament Colloquium in New York, January 1, 1965.
2. Bauer, *Rechtgläubigkeit . . .*, Beiträge zur historischen Theologie, Band 10, Tübingen, 1934; zweite, durchgesehene Auflage mit einem Nachtrag herausgegeben von Georg Strecker (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1964). See G. Strecker, "A Report on the New Edition of Walter Bauer's *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum*," *The Journal of Bible and Religion*, Vol. 33 (1965), pp. 53-56; also J. M. Robinson, "Basic Shifts in German Theology," *Interpretation*, Vol. 16 (1962), pp. 76-97.
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Furthermore, it is also very important to see that Bultmann understands Bauer's thesis in the context of the theology of the New Testament. Speaking about Paul's theology in particular, Bultmann underlines "the element of knowing which is contained in the very structure of 'faith.'"⁵ On the other hand: "The formulations of the paradisiacal interpretation. Their concepts and statements were not only subject to various interpretations but they also led inevitably to further thinking, to questions: what theological and christological, cosmological and anthropological consequences necessarily result? Which ones are legitimate deductions? This is the origin of Christian theology."⁶ Bultmann not only reformulates Bauer's thesis, he also sees its full impact lying within the New Testament itself: Bauer's problem is identical with the problem of the origin of early Christian theology.

But let us turn to Bauer's book and its republication by G. Strecker. As noted in the Foreword,⁷ Bauer himself had agreed to the plans and to the person who was to republish his book. The form of the supplement goes back to suggestions by Ph. Vielhauer.

I. Strecker's Contributions

A. The Foreword summarizes Bauer's thesis as follows: "Orthodoxy and heresy in early Christianity are related to one another not as the primary and the secondary, but rather in many areas heresy is the original representative of Christianity."⁸ Regarding this thesis Strecker sees his task of republication not only in the correction of misprints and errors and in the insertion of additions made by Bauer himself. He also finds it necessary to pay attention to the present state of research. This is done in Appendices I and II.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

7. Strecker in *Rechtgläubigkeit . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. vi.

8. *Ibid.*, p. v.

B. Appendix I deals with the problem of Jewish Christianity,⁹ which Bauer had only briefly dealt. However, according to Strecker Jewish Christianity would have provided the best example to prove his thesis to Bauer: "According to the New Testament, Jewish Christianity stands at the beginning of the development of church history, so primary is not the Gentile Christian church doctrine, but a Jewish Christian theology." This was soon forgotten by the heresiologists of the church, who put Jewish Christianity into the category of a sect under the name "Ebionites." This was supposed to indicate them to be a minority in number and strength as well as to indicate their separation from the doctrine of the church. This view still is very widespread among scholars today.

Strecker proceeds to apply Bauer's conception to one part of Jewish Christianity, the "nomistic Jewish Christianity which is at home in the Greek-speaking part of Syria."¹⁰ First, he evaluates the indirect testimony of the *Didascalia apostolorum*. Although the author of the *Didascalia* presents himself as the leading orthodox-catholic figure, the weight of the Jewish-Christian "heresy" combatted by the *Didascalia* is so influential that Strecker concludes that this "heresy" is in fact the majority. In any case, this Jewish Christianity is prior to the catholic views of the author of the *Didascalia*. On the other hand, the *Kerygma Petrou* source used in the Pseudo-Clementine "*Grundschrift*" contains a theology of Jewish Christian character contemporary to the author of the *Didascalia* or a few decades earlier. The theology of the *Kerygma Petrou* has no intention of isolating itself from the orthodox development toward the New Testament Canon and the catholic church. At the same time, the source is unusually open to influences from Judaism as well as from Gentiles. Similarly, the anti-Pauline polemic is not an anti-catholic polemic. Hence, the Jewish Christianity of the *Kerygma Petrou* document cannot be seen as a sectarian minority. Rather, in the area of the *Kerygmata Petrou* source, this kind of Jewish Christianity is still the only non-catholic representative of Christianity which does yet live in tension with the catholic church. The stage of competition was only reached in the *Didascalia*. Hence, during the second and third centuries this Jewish Christianity is predominant in Syria but independent of the catholic church. The treatment of Jewish Christianity as a sect under the name "Ebionites" is not attested prior to Irenaeus. Hippolytus even constructs a name of a founder of the sect from the name of the s

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 245 ff.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 248.



Interpretation

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Furthermore, it is also very important to see that Bultmann understands Bauer's thesis in the context of the theology of the New Testament. Speaking about Paul's theology in particular, Bultmann underlines "the element of knowing which is contained in the very structure of 'faith.'"⁵ On the other hand: "The formulations of the paradisis needed interpretation. Their concepts and statements were not only subject to various interpretations but they also led inevitably to further thinking, to questions: what theological and christological, cosmological and anthropological consequences necessarily result? Which ones are legitimate deductions? This is the origin of Christian theology."⁶ Bultmann not only reformulates Bauer's thesis, he also sees its full impact lying within the New Testament itself: Bauer's problem is identical with the problem of the origin of early Christian theology.

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9. *Ibid.*,
10. *Ibid.*

various interpretations of Jesus of Nazareth be conceived of as being in an inner theological consistency with this historical figure? Here one has to remember what Bauer said in his essay on "Jesus the Galilean, where he gave essentially a negative answer, namely, that "ambivalence is about the only consistency. The difficulty is that we get to the historical Jesus only on the basis of that material which the later "orthodoxy," namely, the Gospels, have preserved. Bauer can help us avoid the unwarranted assumption that one can arrive at anything else than "historical Jesus" purified by the later orthodoxy. We know from the Pastoral Epistles and from Acts what this purification means in the case of Paul. What "historical Paul" would we get, if we had to restore his teachings from this literature only? But are we really better off? We can reconstruct Paul's teachings and thinking only from his letters, as far as they are handed down by the "orthodox" church. We know that a lot of redaction has been done. But we do not know exactly what was left out or according to which principles the *corpus Paulinum* was selected. Furthermore, we know that especially the gnostics made use of Paul's letters. They, however, must have had a quite different view of Paul. Which picture is more reliable?

Likewise the history-of-religions approach must be seen in the light of Bauer's thesis. In the case of Jesus, Bauer himself saw that Jesus started out as a "heretic." The same is probably true for early Palestinian Christianity: in terms of the history of religions, it is a syncretistic-heretical movement. Of course, Hellenistic Christianity is also to be understood in the category of "syncretistic-heretical." Unfortunately, we know too little about the kind of Judaism Paul came from, but it seems to be beyond doubt that in terms of the history of religions it was a syncretistic Judaism. The kind of Christianity in which Paul lived was indeed a very complicated syncretism. Paul's conversion is a syncretistic act in itself! "Orthodoxy" in these terms is simply the final stage of a syncretistic process which after adaptations, influences, modifications, and the like comes to a kind of "establishment." In the case of gnosticism, for example, we should not expect any kind of "pure" gnosticism at the beginning. Rather, we should expect a new syncretistic phenomenon at the beginning which might show some peculiar characteristics. Only after this phenomenon has gone through a process does it lead to what might be called "orthodox" gnosticism. This is equally true for terms like "Judaism," "apocalypticism," and so forth.

III. *Conclusion*

In a sense, we are in the same position as were the early Christian theologians. The language of the New Testament is neither "orthodox" nor "heretical" as such. But this very fact confronts us with the question of what the essence of the Christian faith is. This question has to be answered by theological decision. The Christian faith did not exist in the beginning. In the beginning there existed merely the "heretical" Jew, Jesus of Nazareth. Which of the different interpretations of Jesus are to be called authentically Christian? And what are the criteria for making that decision? This seems to me the cardinal problem of New Testament studies today. The problem was raised clearly by Bauer in his book *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei*. Bultmann understood the problem rightly as the problem of the origin of Christian theology. If we are concerned today with the question of the legacy of Bultmann, we must accept as part of this legacy the concept of the historical-critical and theological tasks as being basically one.

Theodore of Mopsuestia.

~~East India Company.~~

See Greer, R. A. Theodore of Mopsuestia: Exegete and Theologian. (Westminster, Md.: Faith Press 1961)
Froehlich, Karlfried, Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 22, 95-103

Theodore "gave history priority over all other considerations... the actual events behind the historical narratives and to apply them rhetorically to his own situation" - p. 22 (Froehlich)

In his Comm. on Jer. 7. 22-31, Theodore denounces "allegory" - "people who take great pains to twist the senses of the divine Scriptures and make everything written therein serve their own ends." p. 96 (Froehlich). But "the apostle [Paul] neither does away with history nor elaborates on events that happened long ago"... Paul gives history priority over all other considerations" & "When they start expounding divine Scripture 'spiritually' - their 'spiritual interpretation' is the name they like to give to their folly..." 1. 96-97. (Froehlich)



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Dec. 6, 1995

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Fax #: 011 822 452 3460

Dr. Jung-Woon Suh
Presbyterian College & Theological Seminary
353 Kwangjang Dong, Kwangjin Ku
Seoul 143-756
Korea

Dear Dr. Suh:

My attention has been called to a significant error in the footnoting of A History of Christianity in Asia, which will surely need correction if the Korean translation is not already completed and sent to the printer

The footnote error begins with #77 and #78 on p. 347. Correcting it will be complicated so I will enclose a corrected photo copy of the pages affected. The problem is that the footnote numbering #77 to #82 in the chapter text (347,348) do not synchronize with the same numbering in the footnote text (p. 368).

The simplest way of correcting this, I think, will be to combine #77 and #78 into one footnote, and to divide #82 into two footnotes. This will avoid the necessity of renumbering all footnote numbers from there to the end of the chapter. But it will require changes as follows (marked on the xerox pp. enclosed):

Move #77 (p. 347) down 5 lines to [..he died.77].
Change footnote text of #77 (p.368) to: "This is in part an oversimplification. Umar II's tax policy..." Delete the phrases "See the next note" and "concerning this period".

On p. 368, renumber footnote numbers and revise footnote texts as marked:

#79 should be 78 ; correcting its text to: "Hitti, History of the Arabs, 222, 281 f.; see also Albert Hourani, A History of the Arab Peoples, (Cambridge MA: Harvard U. Press, 1991), 30-33.

#80 should be 79; correcting its text to: A collateral Umayyad dynasty survived in Spain until 1031, See Tritton, Caliphs, 22, 45, 79 f.; Hitti, History of the Arabs, 234. The Khalid referred to is Khalid ul Kasri.

#81 should be 80. Text unchanged.

#82 should be split in two, and numbered 81 and 82:

#81 should read "Browne, Eclipse of Christianity, 51, citing Mari (ed. Gismondi) and Assemani (Bibliotheca Orientalis). Cf. Hitti, History of the Arabs, pp. 355 f.

#82 should read "The more noted 'Abbasid caliphs, as listed by their royal titles, were

1. al-Saffah (749/50-754), whose personal name, Abul 'Abbas, gave his dynasty the name 'Abbasid.
2. al-Mansur....." [continuing to 23.al-Muti].

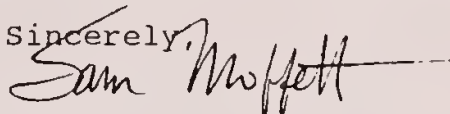
And Add at the footnote end: "See the list of 'Abbasids in Hourani, History of the Arab Peoples, 488. Cf. Hitti, History of the Arabs, (288, 297, 466, 470, 473, 479, 486."

You already have my listing of other errata needing correction elsewhere, but I enclose another copy. The misspelling of Seleucia Ctesiphon on the maps, pp. xviii and xxii, and the misleading text of the legend on the map, p. xxvi, are the most vexing. The latter was probably my error. Instead of "Surviving Centers of Christianity", it should read "Surviving Centers of Nestorian Christianity", or "... of Nestorianism".

I apologize for making this so complicated. I hope this will not reach you too late. Eileen and I look forward enthusiastically to being with you in May, 1996.

Power to you - and with this letter come our warmest Christmas greetings to you and your family and also to all our dear friends and colleagues at the seminary

Sincerely,



Samuel Hugh Moffett

Lesser trespasses brought lesser penalties. For accidentally killing a Muslim the punishment was the payment of blood money. For selling Muslims forbidden things such as wine, pigs, or blood, the penalty was forfeiture of the price received. For thievery the guilty man's hand was cut off. These punishments were no more severe for Christians than for Muslims.

There were also certain restrictions imposed on the practice of the Christian religion, but no prohibition of Christian faith and practice within the Christian community:

You shall not display the cross in any Moslem town, nor parade your idolatry, nor build a church, nor beat the wooden clappers [used instead of bells by Nestorians], nor use your idolatrous language about Jesus the Son of Mary to any Moslem.⁷⁴

In return for such restraint, the conquerors promised not to destroy or loot already existing churches and monasteries or hinder or forbid Christian worship in the churches in any way.

In addition to the religious restrictions, the covenant imposes a wide burden of social humiliations upon Christians and other religious minorities. These rules were probably not imposed all at once but rather represent a gradual development of discriminatory practices that were collected and added to later editions of the text as accepted precedents. Christians, for example, were ordered to wear a distinctive girdle around their waists so that they might not be confused with Arabs. Later, a large yellow patch on their outer garments, front and back, marked the wearers as Christians.⁷⁵ Special haircuts were mandatory, cut short in front. They had to ride side-saddle, not astride the horse like a soldier or an Arab. They were forbidden to take the high center of the road but had to leave that free for Muslims they might meet; they also could not take the chief seats in assemblies.⁷⁶

The final, and in some ways the most effective disability of all imposed on the Christian *dhimmi*s was financial, as we have already observed. The price the Christian had to pay for the right to believe and worship was double taxation.

The sixth Umayyad caliphate, that of the pious and zealous 'Umar II (717-720), might with some justification be described as the first period of general persecution of Christians and other non-Muslims by the government. In his short reign 'Umar tightened the financial pressures on the vulnerable Christian communities and began to squeeze the weak of faith into the protective fold of Islam. He rewarded new converts (*marwali*) by releasing them from a large share

of the tax burden imposed on non-Muslims,⁷⁷ forbade the building of new churches, and even ordered any recently erected churches and synagogues to be demolished. Fortunately for the Christians who were expected to compensate by their increased taxes for the resultant sharp loss of revenue, the change was too drastic for effective implementation and was dropped when he died. But the mass conversions to Islam were irreversible. The penalty for apostasy was death.⁷⁷

But it was division within Islam, not the suppression of minority religions, that finally brought an end to the Umayyad dynasty. Civil war had already broken out between northern Arabs (Kalbites) and southern Arabs (Qaysites) under the fourth caliph, Marwan I, and was never really ended despite a decisive northern victory in 684. The older split between Sunni (in Syria and elsewhere) and Shi'ites (in Iran) still simmered and spilled over into occasional violence and rebellion. Muslim pietists were incensed at the general political pragmatism of most Umayyad caliphs and never gave them complete loyalty. Moreover, the uncertainties of the process of selecting successors to the throne threw the government into turmoil after the death of each caliph. The choice was not limited to the eldest son but could vary widely and arbitrarily among members of the royal family. Of the fourteen Umayyad caliphs, only four managed to pass the power on directly to their sons.⁷⁸

Upon the death of its tenth caliph, the wise and able Hisham (724-743), the dynasty virtually collapsed. Christians had praised his statesmanlike tolerance of religious minorities, a policy that ended the repressive edicts of 'Umar II. Hisham's viceroy in the east, Khalid, was particularly noted for kindness to minorities. As the son of a Christian mother he treated the Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians across the Euphrates with unusual justice and courtesy. But the four caliphs who followed him proved unable to cope with the unending explosions of religious and political rebellion that flared throughout the empire. Fighting under the white banners of his dynasty, the last Umayyad in the east fell in 750⁷⁹ and was replaced by a line of rulers, the 'Abbasids, who traced their blood descent to al-'Abbas, a paternal uncle of Muhammad, in whose name and under whose black banner they promised to restore the true, original Islam of the Prophet.

An act of that last Umayyad caliph, Marwan II (745-750), is typical of his dynasty's pragmatic tolerance of Christians. In the first year of his reign, which opened with a vigorous reform that bore promise for a while of revitalizing the dynasty, he officially recognized John II as Jacobite patriarch of Antioch with authority over the

perhaps to around 810, but seems to combine features of a number of earlier texts.

74. Tritton, *Caliphs*, 13f.

75. Tritton, *Caliphs*, 118. This is uncomfortably reminiscent of Nazi impositions on Jews.

76. Tritton, *Caliphs*, 14.

77. This is in part an oversimplification. See the next note.

78. His tax policy is sometimes described as forgiveness of land tax (*kharaj*) for Muslim landowners and new converts and double tax, that is, land tax plus poll tax (*jizya*), for non-Muslims, but the two terms are used so interchangeably under the Umayyads, and taxes were collected so differently in various regions, that no such simplification is possible. About all that can be said with certainty concerning this period is that 'Umar lowered taxes drastically for Muslims and raised them for the people of the religious ghettos. See Tritton, *Caliphs*, 197-215, as amended by the research of F. Lokkegaard, *Islamic Taxation* (1950), and Dennett, *Conversion and the Poll Tax*.

78. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 281f. See also Albert Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples* (Cambridge MA: Harvard U. Press, 1941), 30-33.

79. In Spain a collateral Umayyad dynasty survived until 1031. See Tritton, *Caliphs*, 221, 43, 44. i and Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 234. Khalid is Khalid al-Kasbi.

80. Browne, *Eclipse of Christianity*, 51, citing Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*.

81. Browne, *Eclipse of Christianity*, citing Mari (ed. Gismondi) and Assemani (*Bibliotheca Orientalis*). The more noted 'Abbasid caliphs (whose names I give here with the nominal prefix al- which elsewhere will usually be omitted, and which are royal titles, not their personal names) were

82. (listed by name)
1. al-Saffah (750-754). His personal name, Abul 'Abbas, gave his dynasty the name 'Abbasid.
 2. al-Mansur (754-775), turned against his Shi'ite allies, but adopted Persian ways and moved the capital to Damascus.
 3. al-Mahdi (775-785), friend of the Nestorian patriarch Timothy I, but did not prevent sporadic persecution.
 5. Harun al-Rashid (785-809), ruled at the height of 'Abbasid power, allowed further oppression of Christians.
 6. al-Amin (809-813); decline of Arab influence.
 7. al-Ma'mun (813-833); power flows to the provinces.
 8. al-Mu'tasim (833-847), moved the court to Samarra but was unable to escape the rising power of the Turks in his empire.
 10. al-Mutawakkil (847-861), revitalized Sunni orthodoxy and increased social and financial pressures on religious minorities.
 15. al-Mu'tamid (870-892), encouraged the collection of "the Traditions" of the Muslim religion.

18. al-Muqtadir (908-932), lost western North Africa to the Fatimids, a sectarian Shi'ite dynasty.

22. al-Mustakfi (944-946), a puppet of Shi'ite Buyids (Buwayhids) from Iran who seized Baghdad, controlled the empire, and left to the caliph little but his religious authority.

23. al-Muti' (946-974), lost Egypt to the Fatimids.

For an extensive survey of Arab sources in early 'Abbasid history, see F. Omar, *The 'Abbasid Caliphate, 750-786* (Baghdad: Univ. of Baghdad, 1969).

83. For the reference to China, see Hitti, p. 292, citing Tabari (ed. de Goeje [Leiden, 1881-82]), vol. 3, p. 272.

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86. Timothy I, *The Apology of Timothy the Patriarch before the Caliph Mahdi*, Syriac text and English translation ed. and trans. A. Mingana as "Woodbrooke Studies" no. 3, in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Manchester 12, no. 1 (January 1928): 137-298. See H. Putnam's critical analysis of the Arabic text with French translation, *L'Eglise et l'Islam sous Timothée I (780-823)* (Beirut: Dar el-Machreq, 1975), 169-327.

87. Timothy I, *Apology*, ed. Mingana, 152f.

88. Timothy I, *Apology*, 153ff.

89. Timothy I, *Apology*, 198ff., 205, 215.

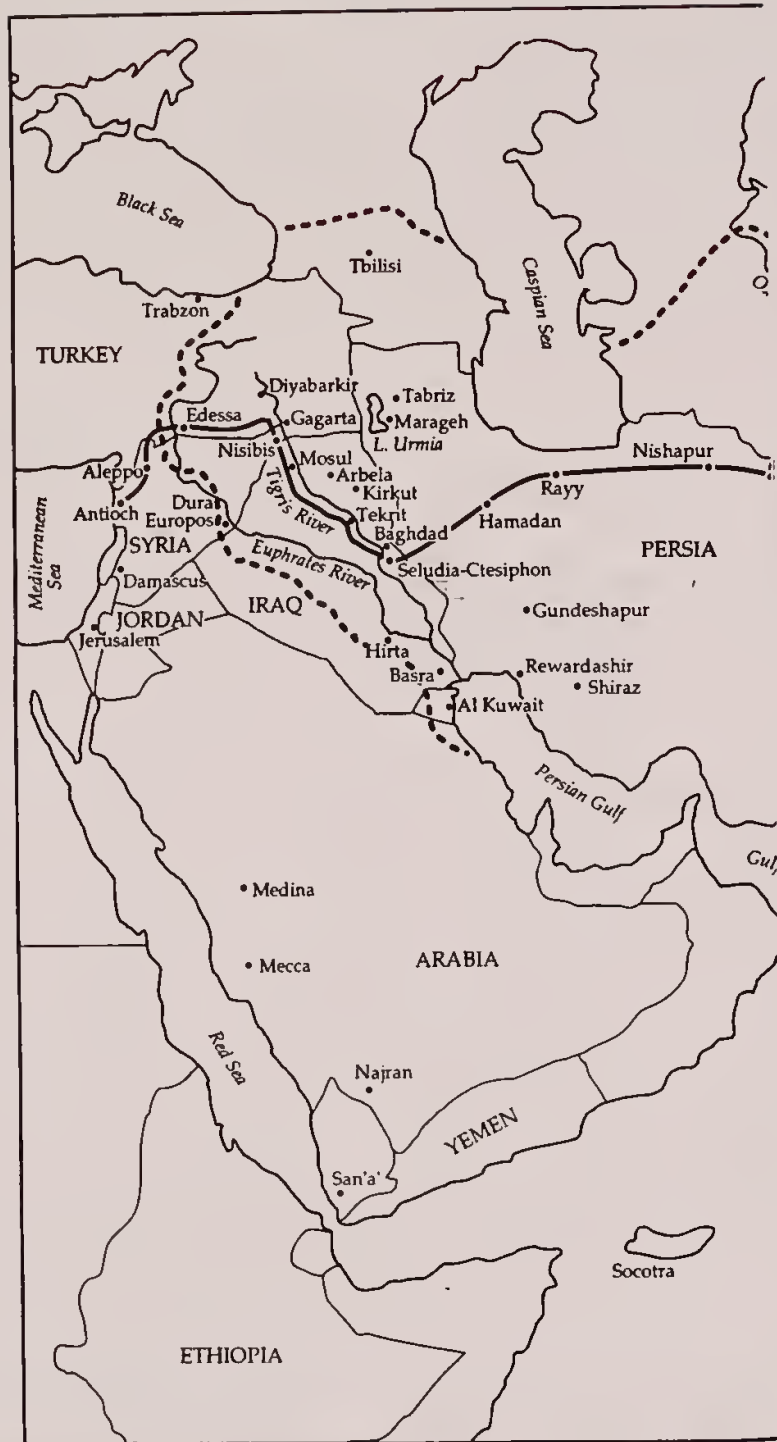
90. Timothy I, *Apology*, 171f.; see pp. 153, 156, 159, 208, and *passim*.

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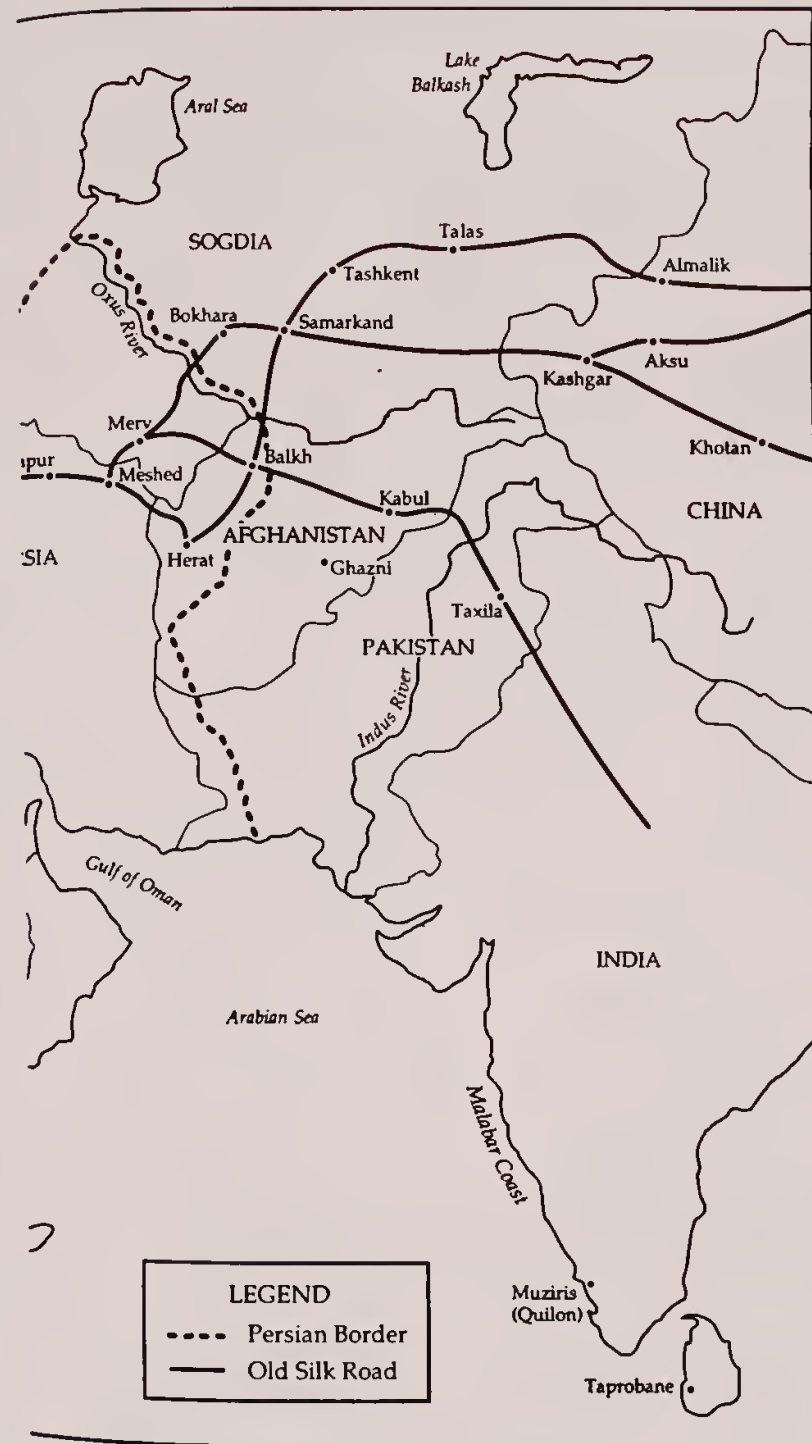
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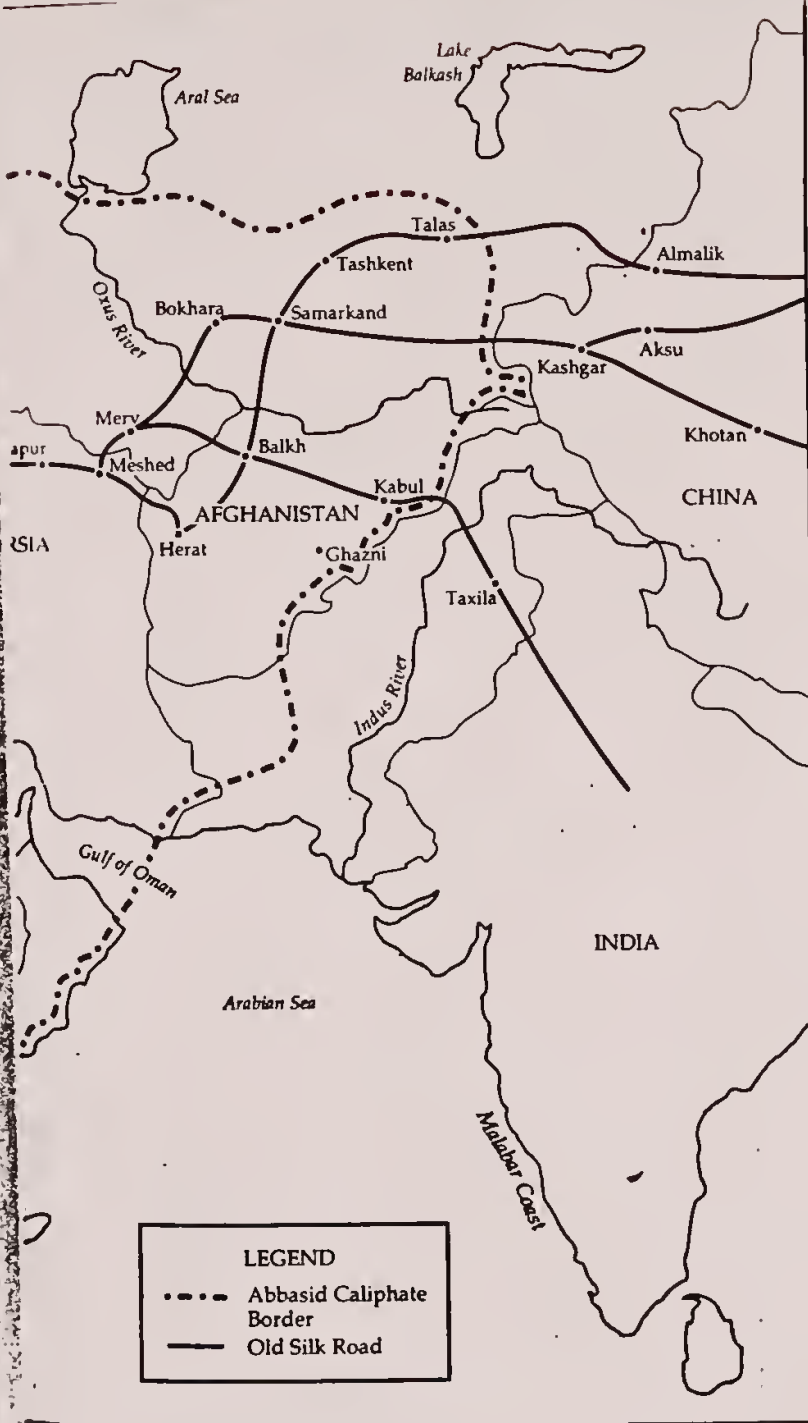
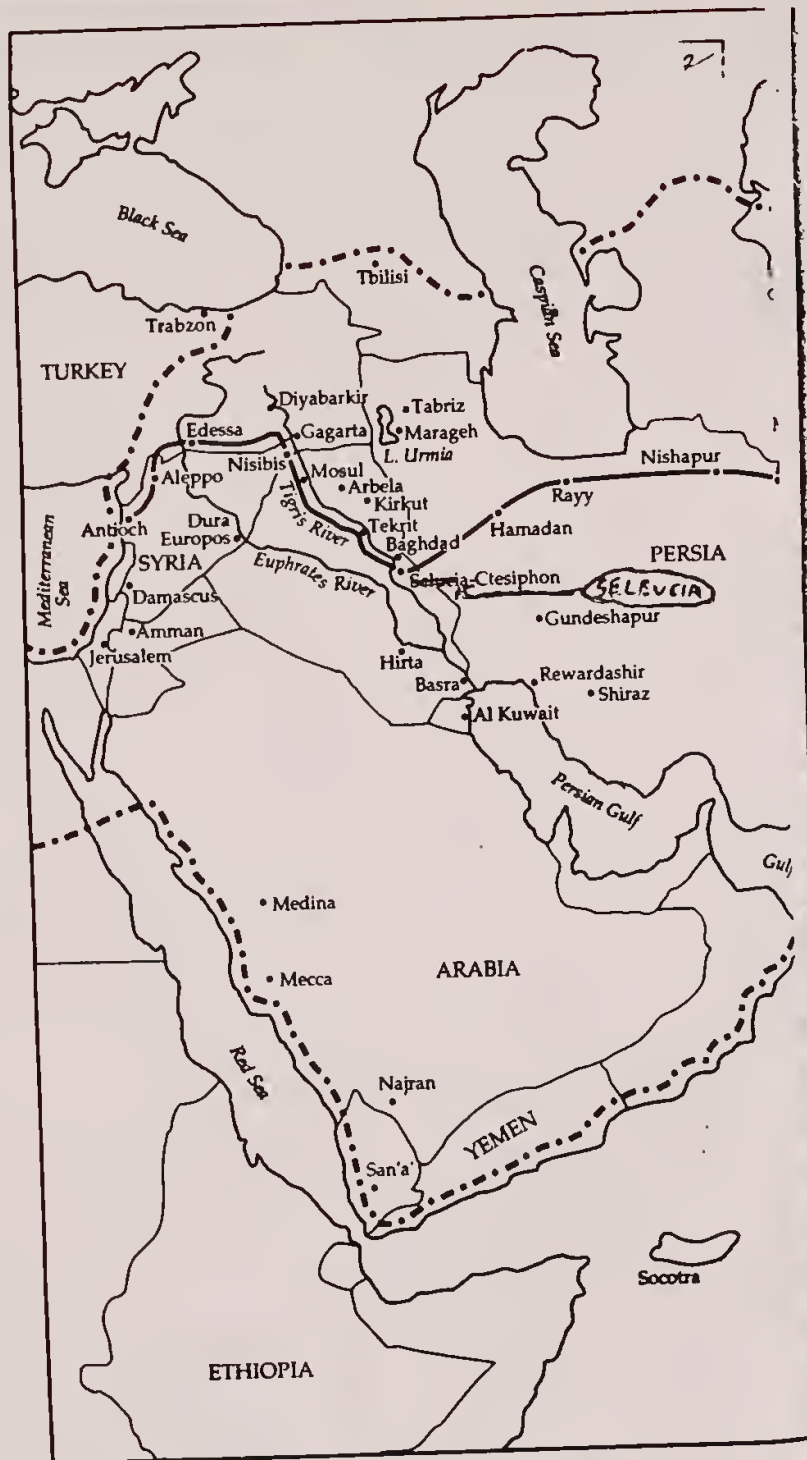


West Asia and the Sassanid Empire, ca. A.D. 600



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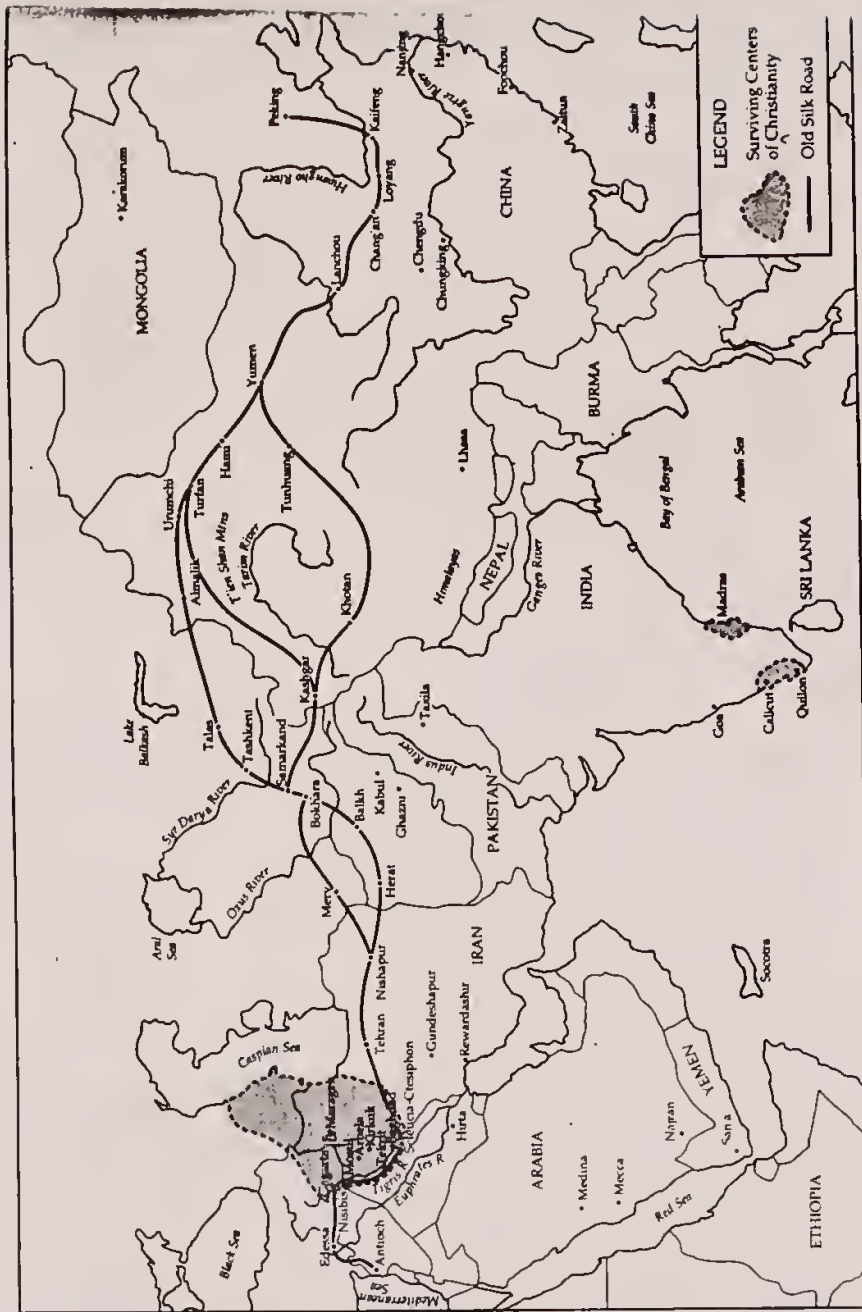
- - - Persian Border
- Old Silk Road



West and West Central Asia under Islam:
The Abbasid Caliphate, ca. A.D. 800

PART I

From the Apostles
to Muhammad



Moffett, Hist. of Christianity in Asia, volume I
Corrections and revisions, for 2nd ed. (achvol2\rev-voll.2ed)

ERRATA IN VOLUME 1 to be corrected (or revisions, additions).

Cover jacket: front fold: line 3: change [moffet] to moffett
1. 9: change [on the NT] to, of the NT
back: 1. 3. delete three

On pages numbered below, change from errata marked [...] to

- xviii, map: change [Seludia-Ctesiphon] to, Seleucia-Ctesiphon
xxii, map: change [Selucia-Ctesiphon] to, Seleucia-Ctesiphon
12, line 11: change [The..] to read, To the Greeks, the Parthians
29, 3rd l. from bottom: change [Yeuh-chi] to Yueh-chi
36, 4th l. from bottom: add commas ~~to~~ [which unfortunately] to read,
which, unfortunately,
39, line 9: change [Batholomew] to, Bartholomew
45, title page, last line: change [(Mingana) , 77, sixth century]
to (Mingan), sixth century (?).
51, line 25: delete [impossible]; substitute, very difficult
88. Add the following (adapted from n. 91 to note 90.
On the date and authenticity of the Arbela Chronicle (or
History), attributed by Mingana to a Syrian writer, Msiha-
zkha, Prof. Sidney Griffith has called to my attention an
important article by Khalil Samir, Alphonse Mingana, 1878-
1937, Occasional Paper No. 7, (Birmingham, England: Selly
Oak Colleges, 1990). See also sharp criticisms of Mingana
by J. M. Fiey, "Auteur et date de la chronique d'Arbeles" in
L'Orient Syrien 12 (1967, 265-302; and more positive
comments by S. P. Brock in Bulletin of the John Rylands
Library 50 (1967, 200; and a spirited defense of the
accuracy of the earlier parts of the history up to the Great
Persecution of 340 A.D. by W. G. Young, Patriarch, Shah and
Caliph (Rawalpindi, India: Christian Study Centre, 1974), 8-
11; and J. Neusner, "The Conversion of Adiabene to
Christianity", in Numen 12 (1966), 144-150; and W. Hage,
"Early Christianity in Mesopotamia: some remarks concerning
the authenticity of the Chronicle of Arbela" in The Harp
1, 2 & 3 (Kottayam, India: 1988) 39-46.
88. Leave the last paragraph of the old n. 91 as the full
footnote, beginning, "The episcopal succession is given....
93, line 14: add complete, to read, first complete church
building
101, 2nd l. of Notes: change [Fryne] to, Frye
113, n. 2, last line: [1893] to, 1983
137, l. 32: add, in 311, (to read) Licinius in 311 signed
142, 14th l. from bottom: [360] to 361
150, l. 7: [496] to, 476
153, 3rd l. from bottom: add friendly to, to read, world
friendly to Christians.
159, line 27: [Zorostrian] to Zoroastrian

347, 368

- 221, 9th l. from bottom: [340] to, 540
- 226, l. 8: [southeastern] to, southwestern
- 243, line 24: [Bar'Adai] to, Barada'i
- 245, line 11: [Bardaeus] to, Baradaeus
- 245, 4th & 6th l. from bottom: [Barda'i] to, Barada'i
- 248, line 24: [greed] to, creed
- 250, n. 10: [indentify] to, identify
- 280, line 30: [emity] to, enmity
- 288, 6th l. from bottom: [of history] to, of the history
- 297. l. 21: [in that rapidly] to, in the rapidly
- " [port city and] to, port city of Canton and
- 300. bottom line: delete perhaps
- 400, l. 18: [engaged] to, engaging
- 423, l. 2: [Machicha II] to, Makika (or Machicha) II
- 427, l. 2: [Manicha] to, Makika
- 456, 8th l from bottom: [/67] to, /47
- 458, l. 6: [six] to, seven
- 458, l. 9: [six] to, seven
- 520, under Asmussen: [1893] to, 1983
- 554, delete [Manika II], 423, 427, replace with, Makika II, 423, 426, 427

- Sam Moffett
 Dec. 28, 1993.



PRINCETON
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150 Leabrook Lane
Princeton, NJ 08540
Dec. 1, 1995

Mr. John Shopp
HarperSanFrancisco
1160 Battery St., 3rd Floor
San Francisco, CA, 94111-1213

Dear Mr. Shopp:

My attention has been called to a significant error in the footnoting on pages 347 and 368 of Vol. I A History of Christianity in Asia, which will surely need correction if, as I hope, the book survives to a second edition and a paperback. It seems to be catching on as a textbook and is now required here at Princeton Theological Seminary for purchase by students in the large introductory church history course. What Princeton does others may follow in the mainline seminaries, and in evangelical seminaries the book is already increasingly popular.

The footnote error begins with #77 and #78 on p. 347. Correcting it will be complicated so I will enclose a corrected zerox copy of the pages affected. The problem is that the footnote numbering #77 to #82 in the chapter text (347,348) do not synchronize with the same numbering in the footnote text (p. 368).

The simplest way of correcting this, it seems to me, will be, first to combine #77 and #78 into one footnote, and finally to divide #82 into two footnotes. The advantage of this way is that it avoids renumbering all footnote numbers from there to the end of the chapter. But it will require changes as follows (marked on the xerox pages enclosed):

On p. 347:

Move #77 down 5 lines to [..he died.77].

Correct footnote text of #77 (p.368) to: This is in part an oversimplification. Umar. II's tax policy...

Delete the phrases "See the next note" and "concerning this period".

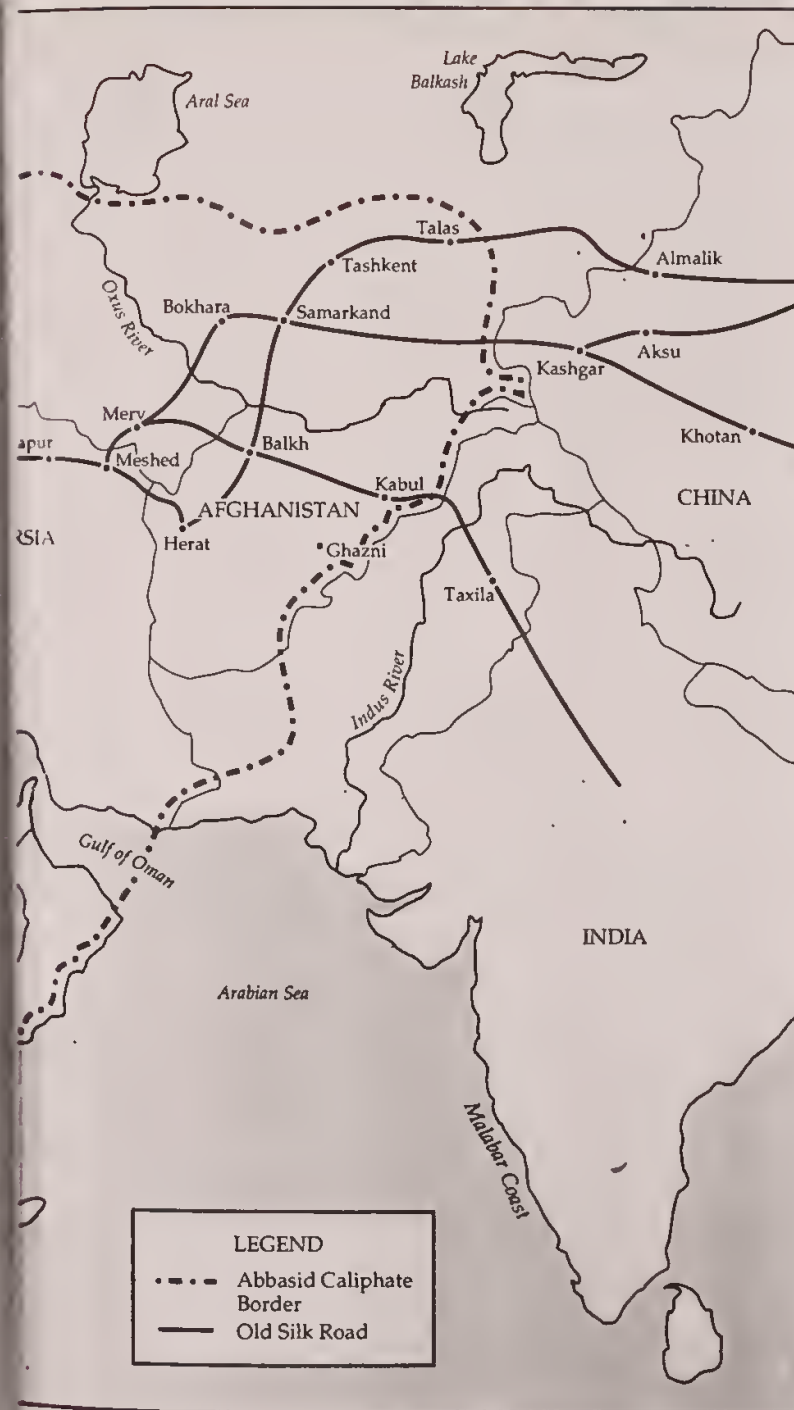
On p. 368, correct footnote numbers; revise texts:

#79 should be 78 ; correcting its text to: Hitti, History of the Arabs, 222, 281 f.; see also Albert Hourani, A History of the Arab Peoples, (Cambridge MA: Harvard U. Press, 1991), 30-33.

#80 should be 79; correcting its text to: A collateral Umayyad dynasty survived in Spain until 1031. See Tritton, Caliphs, 22, 45, 79 f.; Hitti, History of the Arabs, 234. The Khalid referred to is Khalid ul Khasri.



West and West Central Asia under Islam:
The Abbasid Caliphate, ca. A.D. 800



LEGEND
 - - - - - Abbasid Caliphate
 Border
 — Old Silk Road

Lesser trespasses brought lesser penalties. For accidentally killing a Muslim the punishment was the payment of blood money. For selling Muslims forbidden things such as wine, pigs, or blood, the penalty was forfeiture of the price received. For thievery the guilty man's hand was cut off. These punishments were no more severe for Christians than for Muslims.

There were also certain restrictions imposed on the practice of the Christian religion, but no prohibition of Christian faith and practice within the Christian community:

You shall not display the cross in any Moslem town, nor parade your idolatry, nor build a church, nor beat the wooden clappers [used instead of bells by Nestorians], nor use your idolatrous language about Jesus the Son of Mary to any Moslem.⁷⁴

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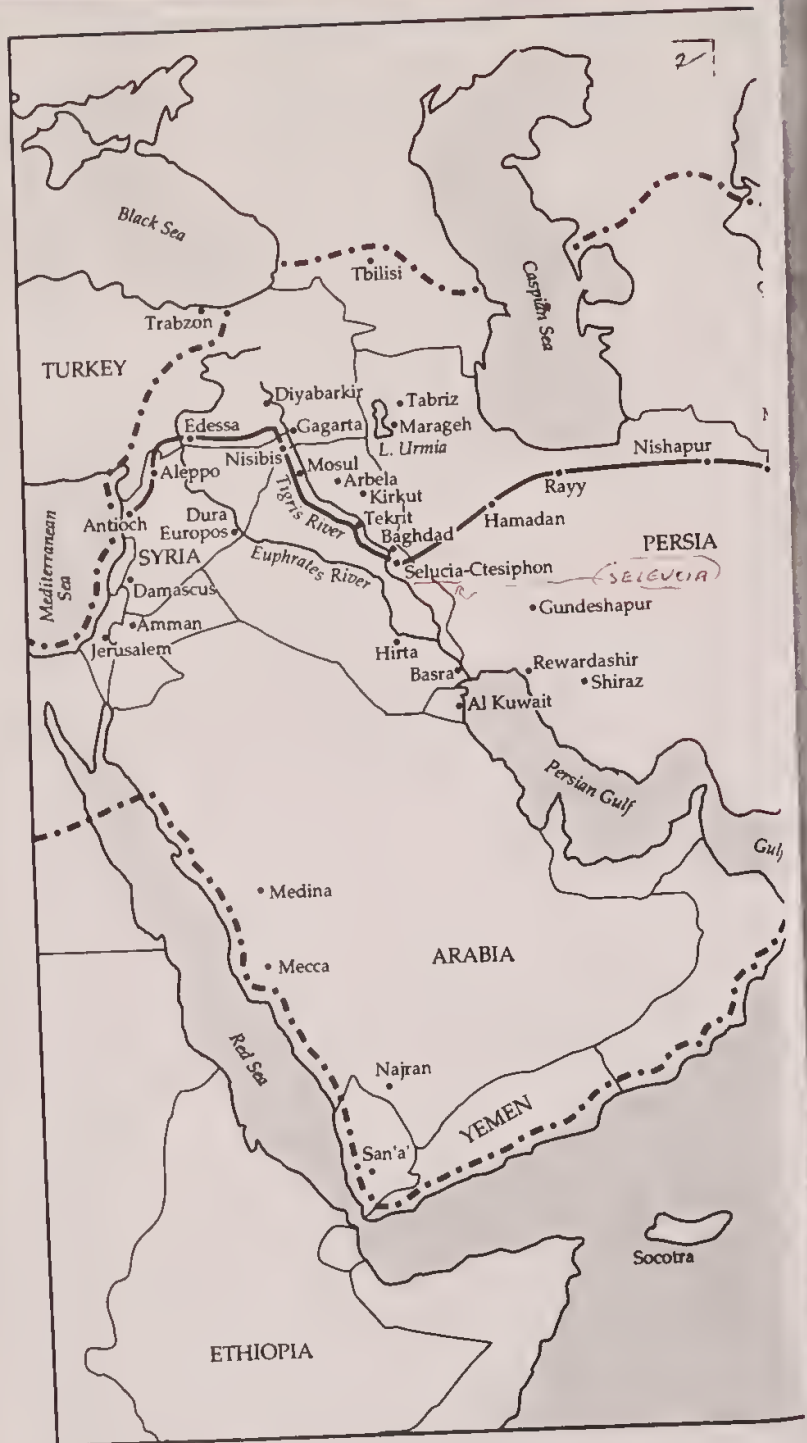
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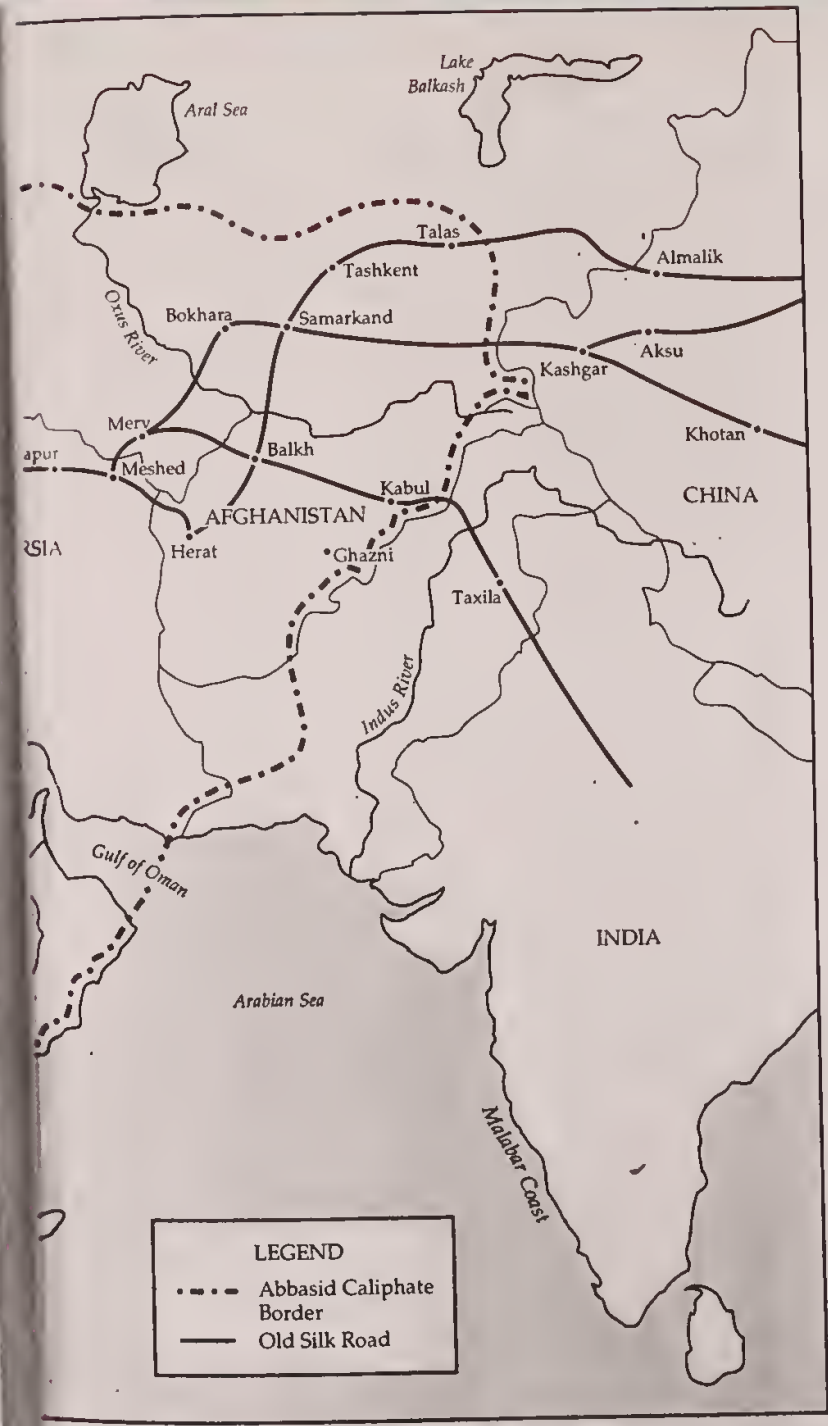
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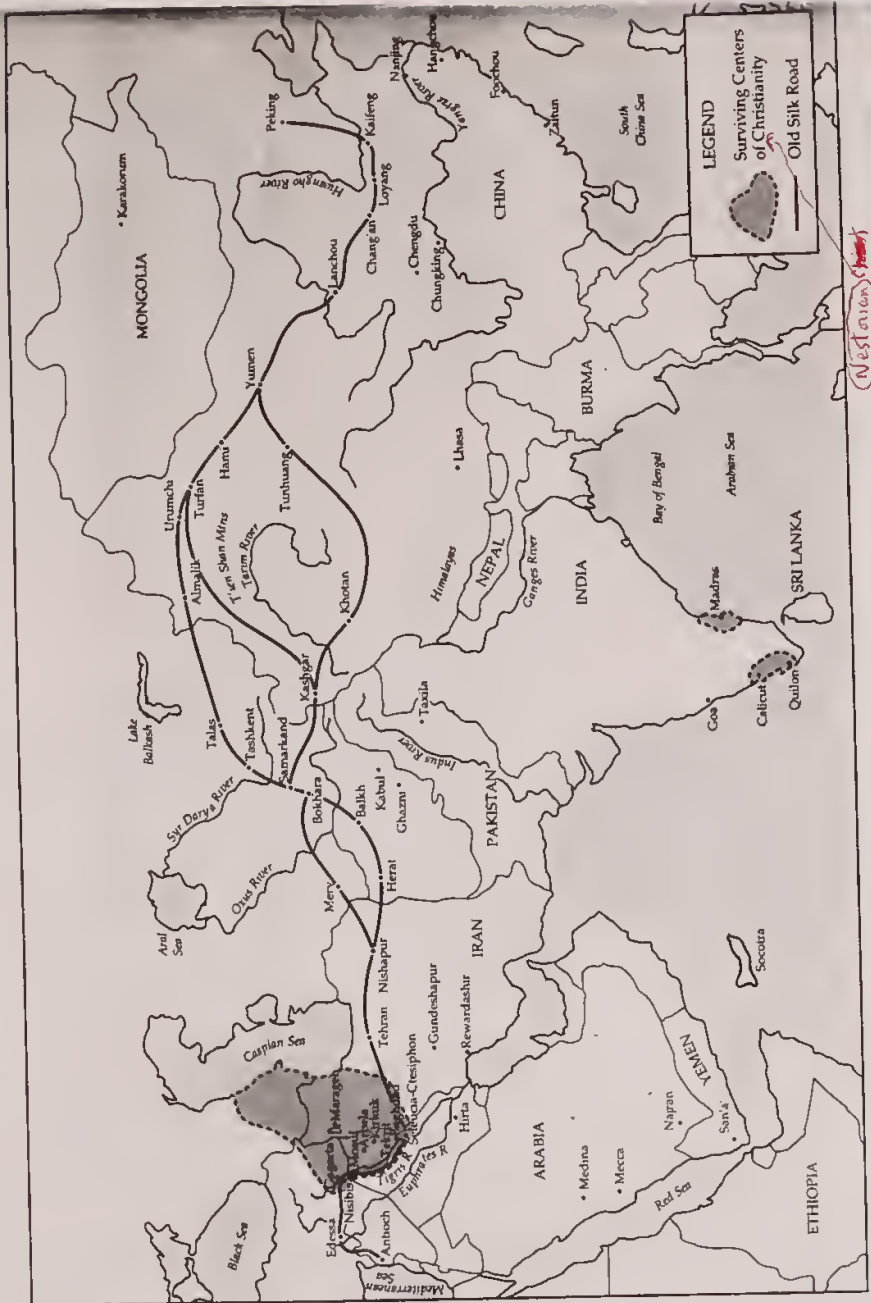
West and West Central Asia under Islam:
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Asia in 1500

PART I

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back: 1. 3. delete three

On pages numbered below, change from errata marked [...] to

- xviii, map: change [Seludia-Ctesiphon] to, Seleucia-Ctesiphon
xxvi > xxii, map: change [Selucia-Ctesiphon] to, Seleucia-Ctesiphon
12, line 11: change [The..] to read, To the Greeks, the Parthians
29, 3rd l. from bottom: change [Yeuh-chi] to Yueh-chi
30, 4th l. from bottom: add to read, [which unfortunately] correct,
which, unfortunately,
39, line 9: change [Batholomew] to, Bartholomew
45, title page, last line: change [(Mingana) , 77, sixth century]
to (Mingan), sixth century (?).
51, line 25: delete [impossible]; substitute, very difficult
88. Add the following (adapted from n. 91 to note 90.
On the date and authenticity of the Arbela Chronicle (or
History), attributed by Mingana to a Syrian writer, Msiha-
zkha, Prof. Sidney Griffith has called to my attention an
important article by Khalil Samir, Alphonse Mingana, 1878-
1937, Occasional Paper No. 7, (Birmingham, England: Selly
Oak Colleges, 1990). See also sharp criticisms of Mingana
by J. M. Fiey, "Auteur et date de la chronique d'Arbeles" in
L'Orient Syrien 12 (1967, 265-302; and more positive
comments by S. P. Brock in Bulletin of the John Rylands
Library 50 (1967, 200; and a spirited defense of the
accuracy of the earlier parts of the history up to the Great
Persecution of 340 A.D. by W. G. Young, Patriarch, Shah and
Caliph (Rawalpindi, India: Christian Study Centre, 1974), 8-
11; and J. Neusner, "The Conversion of Adiabene to
Christianity", in Numen 12 (1966), 144-150; and W. Hage,
"Early Christianity in Mesopotamia: some remarks concerning
the authenticity of the Chronicle of Arbela" in The Harp
1, 2 & 3 (Kottayam, India: 1988) 39-46.
88. Leave the last paragraph of the old n. 91 as the full
footnote, beginning, "The episcopal succession is given....
93, line 14: add complete, to read, first complete church
building
101, 2nd l. of Notes: change [Fryne] to, Frye
113, n. 2, last line: [1893] to, 1983
137, l. 32: add, in 311, (to read) Licinius in 311 signed
142, 14th l. from bottom: [360] to 361
150, l. 7: [496] to, 476
153, 3rd l. from bottom: add friendly to, to read, world
friendly to Christians.
159, line 27: [Zorostrarian] to Zoroastrian

- 221, 9th l. from bottom: [340] to, 540
- 226, l. 8: [southeastern] to, southwestern
- 243, line 24: [Bar'Adai] to, Barada'i
- 245, line 11: [Bardaeus] to, Baradaeus
- 245, 4th & 6th l. from bottom: [Barda'i] to, Barada'i
- 248, line 24: [greed] to, creed
- 250, n. 10: [indentify] to, identify
- 280, line 30: [emity] to, enmity
- 288, 6th l. from bottom: [of history] to, of the history
- 297. l. 21: [in that rapidly] to, in the rapidly
- " [port city and] to, port city of Canton and
- 300. bottom line: delete perhaps
- 400, l. 18: [engaged] to, engaging
- 423, l. 2: [Machicha II] to, Makika (or Machicha) II
- 427, l. 2: [Manicha] to, Makika
- 456, 8th l from bottom: [/67] to, /47
- 458, l. 6: [six] to, seven
- 458, l. 9: [six] to, seven
- 520, under Asmussen: [1893] to, 1983
- 554, delete [Manika II], 423, 427, replace with, Makika II, 423,
426, 427

317 368

Sam Moffitt
 Dec 28, 1993

Additions to Index

p. 549 Apostasy - :. 347
 Korea 297, 451, 460f, 469 n. 86
 Japan 460
 Thailand 401

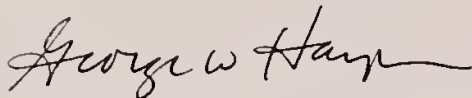
p. 347, ³⁶⁶ - Delete text of footnote ^{on p. 368} 77, and more footnotes¹¹ to end of section ... when we did ⁽⁷⁷⁾, on p. 347
p. 368-373 - change numbering of footnotes, 74 to 78, etc. ... 143 to 142.

thirds of the seminary's students aren't members of the Alliance, I'd have hoped he might see this as a chance to build some ecumenical bridges rather than raising the sectarian walls even higher. And, again, I wonder why no one took the time to inform us of this step. It's a good thing the NCCP doesn't know how sectarian we are here at ABS! Recently their divinity school, Union Seminary, contacted us to inquire whether we might loan them someone to teach introductory Greek! Sorry about the sarcasm, but our wounds still hurt. At least we have the permission of Boston Presbytery.

Actually, this letter does have a more constructive purpose. I've profited greatly from the first volume of your *History of Christianity in Asia* -- I've made sure that the library here has several copies. How many volumes do you anticipate? When will the next be out? As invaluable as Latourette's work will always be, there's too much pointless detail of names and dates and too little shape and rhetorical thrust to make it very readable. I did want to ask whether you've caught the problem with the endnote references on pp. 346-348. As near as I can tell, the endnote number that's printed as 77, in the middle of the first line on p. 347, should actually be 78. The real 77 seems to be missing, and my suspicion is that it belongs at the end of the last paragraph on p. 346 (ending with "...was double taxation.") Then all the printed endnote numbers on p. 347 are one too low -- 77 should be 78, 78 should be 79, and 79 should (must!) be 80. On p. 348, plainly endnote no. 82 belongs with the text of endnote 82 as it appears on p. 368, and from that point on the numbers and the notes seem to correspond once again. The question is what to do with endnote nos. 80 and 81 as they appear in the first paragraph of p. 348. If endnote no. 79 must actually refer to the text of endnote 80 while endnote no. 82 nevertheless refers to the text of endnote 82, then printed endnote nos. 80 and 81 must share the text of endnote 81. Either the text of one endnote has somehow been dropped here, counterbalancing the endnote number that was apparently dropped on p. 346, or there's an extra endnote number and either 80 or 81 can be dropped. I hope this is clear -- and I'm sure you've caught the problem long since! Of course, if publishers could only be made to see the value of footnotes, authors and readers wouldn't have such problems.

I pray that your work is going well. You certainly give hope to many evangelicals in the denomination. Do you ever get to Southeast Asia? If you're ever in the Philippines, we'd love to have you at ABS as a guest lecturer. I'd like to be able to point to you to buttress my claims that not all the savor has gone out of the Presbyterian salt! I like to joke with the dean that since I've arrived, Presbyterian enrollment at ABS has tripled -- from one to three! Actually, a Korean Presbyterian kid is in one of my classes, and he and I get along very well -- he's memorized the Westminster Shorter Catechism!

Godspeed --



George W. Harper
Assistant Professor of Church History and Theology
Asian Biblical Seminary

150 Leabrook Lane
Princeton, N.J. 08540
January 30, 1995

Dr. Suh Jung-Woon
Presbyterian Theological Seminary
Kwangnaru
Seoul, Korea

Dear Dr. Suh:

If it is not too late to add another correction to the page listing of typos and errors, which I gave you more than a year ago for use in the Korean translation of Vol I of the History of Christianity of Asia, I would like to call you to your attention an addition that should be made on page 322, n. 79. Please add to the footnote the following sentence:

See also Lee Chang-Sik, "A Study of a Chinese Nestorian Sutra, 'Jesus Messiah", in The Northeast Asia Journal of Theology, (Tokyo), No. 13 (September, 1974), 46-52.

If you will share this correction with those who are working on the Korean translation I will appreciate it very much.

I am looking forward to seeing you in Princeton today.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel Hugh Moffett

PS. Perhaps I should also enclose the whole page of errata previously sent.

Moffett, Hist. of Christianity in Asia, volume I
Corrections and revisions, for 2nd ed. (2ed-voll.rev)

ERRATA IN VOLUME 1 to be corrected.

Cover jacket: front fold: line 3. moffet to moffett
1. 9. [on the NT], to, of the NT
back: 1. 3. delete three

On pages numbered below, change from errata marked [...] to

- xviii: [Seludia-Ctesiphon] to, **Seleucia-Ctesiphon**
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280, line 30. [emity] to, **enmity**
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300. bottom line. delete **perhaps**
400, l. 18. [engaged] to, **engaging**
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427, l. 2 [Manicha] to, **Makika**
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REVIEW ESSAY

FIDES ET HISTORIA 23 (1991)

EVERETT FERGUSON, ED.; MICHAEL P. MCHUGH & FREDERICK W. NORRIS, ASSOCIATE EDs.; AND DAVID M. SCHOLER, CONSULTING ED.; *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1990. Pp. xx + 983. \$95.00.

by Edwin Yamauchi, Miami University

Everett Ferguson, editor of the journal, *The Second Century*, his editorial colleagues, and 131 distinguished scholars have produced an outstanding reference work, which has been commended by the American Society of Church History and by the North American Patristic Society. It is a project which has been superbly conceived and edited. I found it to be an invaluable reference work in teaching a course on Early Christianity.

The three editors wrote the majority of the minor entries. If my tally is correct, Ferguson contributed 156, McHugh 228, and Norris 141 minor and major articles. Scholer added 19 articles. Other scholars who have contributed ten or more articles include: G. T. Armstrong (11), P. M. Blowers (11), C. Cox (10), G. D. Dragas (14), P. C. Finney (14), J. P. Lewis (12), and H. Rosenberg (19). Although the scholars represent a broad spectrum of denominational backgrounds, scholars from the Church of Christ background are especially well represented (Ferguson, Norris, Blowers, Cox, Lewis, etc.).

There are some problems in identifying authors in a few cases either because names were omitted from the list of contributors or because wrong initials have been given: the articles on *Celsus* (pp. 188–89) and on "*Libya*" (p. 538) are attributed to a G. T. B. The list of contributors includes a G. S. B., a G. C. B., and a G. B., but not a G. T. B. Several articles are assigned to R. A. G. (pp. 328, 329, 421, 434, 837, 889); the list of contributors include R. M. G. and R. G., but no R. A. G. The article on *Basilius Celix* (pp. 146–47), lacks an author because some lines have dropped out in the publication process.

The period of coverage extends to A.D. 600. It is useful that biographies of scholars of early Christianity have also been included, e.g.: John Bollandus (d. 1665), Edward Gibbon (d. 1794), F. C. Baur (d. 1860), Phillip Schaff (d. 1893), Berthold Altaner (d. 1964), Frank L. Cross (d. 1968), Kenneth S. Latourette (d. 1968), and Johannes Quasten (d. 1987).

Review Essay

According to the editor's preface (p. vii), "Entries in the *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity* cover persons, places, doctrines, practices, art, liturgy, heresies, and schisms." As a rule the articles are lucid and informative. The large format of the book (7" x 10") makes the text quite readable. Especially valuable are the bibliographies, which list the primary patristic texts, and the secondary literature in chronological order so that one may see at a glance what the latest discussions on a given subject are. In my own experience in writing for such multi-author reference works, it has taken from five to seven years from the submission of an article to its publication. The editors are therefore to be commended in that some of the bibliographies list works published as recently as 1989; in some cases forthcoming works are also noted.

An index improves the usefulness of this reference. Cross-references are usually but not always found. For example, as there is no article on Pythagoras, it would have been useful to have a cross-reference to *Neopythagoreanism*. Cross references between *Bethlehem* and *Nativity, Church of*, would also have been in order. Apposite photos, sketches, and lists occasionally enhance the text of articles.

In such a huge work of overall excellence there are bound to be some minor blemishes or omissions, which, as someone has put it in another context, may not at all detract from the usefulness of the work and may not be visible to most readers.

1. BIBLICAL AND OTHER BOOKS

Papyri by E. A. Judge (pp. 686–91) is a valuable summary of the evidence. On the other hand, *Parchment* (691–92) by C. D. Osborn is one of the few articles which lacks a bibliography. See on this subject: R. Reed, *Ancient Skins, Parchments and Leathers* (London: Seminar Press, 1972); M. L. Ryder, "Parchment," *History Today* 24 (1974): 716–20; T. C. Skeat, "'Especially the Parchments': A Note on 2 Timothy IV.13," *Journal of Theological Studies* 30, 1979, 173–77; R. R. Johnson, "Parchment in the Hellenistic Age," in S. M. Burstein and L. A. Okin, eds., *Panhellenica* (Lawrence, KS: Coronado Press, 1980), 133–42.

The editorial preface states, "Since there are excellent encyclopedias and dictionaries of the Bible available, the information on biblical persons and books concentrates on their significance and use in the postbiblical development" (p. vii). Taken as a whole the articles on books of the Bible are among the weakest sections of the work. Whereas the article *Canon* (pp. 169–73), by L. M. McDonald is thorough, *Apocrypha, Old Testament* (pp. 61–62) by J. J. Collins is disappointing and has a most inadequate bibliography (only three items listed). The article *Enoch* (p. 299) by E. Ferguson inexcusably omits the major work on the Aramaic Enoch fragments found among the Dead Sea Scrolls: J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).

Esther (pp. 314–15) by J. P. Lewis should have cited C. A. Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah: The Additions* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1977). *Ezra* (p. 336) by E. Ferguson is all too brief in the light of the significance of the apocryphal *Ezra* traditions in Christian texts. See R. A. Kraft, "'Ezra' Materials in Judaism

and Christianity," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* [hereafter abbreviated ANRW] II.19.1 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1979), 119-36. *Isaiah* (pp. 474-75) by J. P. Lewis cites no commentary more recent than 1975!

Acts of the Apostles (pp. 9-11) by L. M. McDonald lists the important work by C. J. Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History* (Hübingen: Mohr, 1989). But it is apparent from the author's statement "Most scholars date the book ca. 80-85," that he has based this on purely subjective impressions and has not taken into account Hemer's chapter on "The Date of Acts," where in a detailed empirical study Hemer shows that 29 scholars maintain that Acts was written before 70, and only 16 opt for a date in the 80s.

Other articles on both Old Testament and New Testament books fail to cite the latest commentaries available. See J. Goldingay, *Old Testament Commentary Survey* (Leicester: Theological Students Fellowship, 1988); D. A. Carson, *New Testament Commentary Survey* (3rd ed.; Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1988). The current series with the most thorough bibliographic apparatus is the Word Biblical Commentary (Waco, TX).

Numerous brief articles, many by D. M. Scholer, on a variety of apocryphal New Testament works found in the Nag Hamadi corpus or cited in the church fathers are included. The article on *The Gospel of Thomas* (pp. 384-85) by K. V. Neller is rather superficial and fails to give an adequate account of the controversy over its character and its possible relationship to the canonical Gospels. The bibliography on the Gospel of Thomas is voluminous; essential works I would have cited are J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Oxyrhynchus logoi of Jesus and the Coptic Gospel according to Thomas," in his *Essays on the Semitic background of the New Testament* (Missouri: Scholars Press, 1974), 355-433; G. Quispel, "The Gospel of Thomas Revisited," in B. Barc, ed., *Colloque international sur les textes de Nag Hammadi* (Quebec: Laval University, 1981), 218-66. On *The Gospel According to the Hebrews* (pp. 382), see the latter article and also G. Quispel, "'The Gospel of Thomas'; and the 'Gospel of the Hebrews,'" *New Testament Studies* 12 (1965-66): 371-82.

II. PERSONS

It is regrettable that *Solomon* (p. 859) by R. P. McHugh has no bibliography in view of the important role of Solomon in the traditions of Ethiopic Christianity. See E. Ullendorff, *Ethiopia and the Bible* (London: Oxford University, 1968); J. B. Pritchard, ed., *Solomon and Sheba* (London: Phaidon, 1974).

There is an excellent article on *Plato, Platonism* (pp. 735-37) by C. Colvin. Less satisfactory is *Aristotle, Aristotelianism* (pp. 90-92) by L. P. Schrenk, which dispenses with the great philosopher in less than half a page.

F. W. Norris has contributed a thorough article *Christ, Christology* (pp. 197-206). His assertion that "the longer description ([Josephus] *Ant.* 18.63-64) is a later Christian interpolation," however, is misleading. The consensus of both Jewish and Christian scholars on this celebrated passage about Jesus is that the core is authentic, though some specific words have been interpolated. See E. Yamauchi, "Josephus and the Scriptures," *Fides et Historia* 13 (1980): 53-55; G. Vermes, "The Jesus Notice of Josephus Re-examined," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 38 (1987): 1-10.

Review Essay

J. P. Meier, "Jesus in Josephus: A Modest Proposal," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* (1990): 76-103.

The brief articles on the Roman emperors by M. P. McHugh are competent but not very detailed; no entry on Gaius Caligula (A.D. 37-41) is included. In the bibliographies I would add: D. S. Barrett, "Nero in Jewish Tradition," *Protestant Biblical Exegesis* (1976): 37-39; S. Franchet d'Espèrey, "Vespasien, Titus et la littérature," *ANRW* II.32.6 (1986), 3048-86; K. M. Coleman, "The Emperor Domitian and Literature," *ANRW* II.32.5 (1986), 3087-3115. While there is no article on the emperor Trajan (A.D. 98-117), McHugh has an article *Pliny The Younger* (pp. 737-38) with a brief bibliography on the important letters between Pliny and Trajan which refer to Christians. The article on *Hadrian* (p. 407) should have included more references to the second Jewish Revolt under Bar Kochba such as: Y. Yadin, *Bar-Kokhba* (New York: Random House, 1971); M. Hengel, "Hadrians Politik gegenüber Juden und Christen," *Journal of the Ancient Near East Society* 16-17 (1984-85), 153-62; M. Hengel, "The Bar-Kokhba Revolt and Non-Jewish Participants," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 36 (1985): 200-209.

There are excellent expositions of major patristic figures such as *Iustine Martyr* (pp. 514-16) by T. Stylianopoulos, *Clement of Alexandria* (pp. 214-16) by W. H. Wagner, *Origen* (pp. 667-69) by R. J. Daly, and *Jerome* (pp. 484-87) by M. P. McHugh. The bibliographies of the articles on *Ignatius of Antioch* (pp. 451-52) by G. F. Snyder and on *Augustine* (pp. 121-26) by M. R. Miles should have been more extensive. Snyder apparently does not consider attempts to challenge the authenticity of the seven Ignatian letters worth discussing as he does not mention the controversy and does not bother to list such works as: R. Weijenborg, *Les lettres d'Ignace d'Antioche* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969), R. Joly, *Le dossier d'Ignace d'Antioche* (Brussels: Université de Brussels, 1979), or J. Rius-Camps, *The Four Authentic Letters of Ignatius, the Martyr* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1979).

Less satisfactory are brief articles on minor figures. The article on *Bardaisan* (pp. 137-38) by F. W. Norris inexplicably omits the major monograph on the subject: H. J. W. Drijvers, *Bardaisan of Edessa* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1965). The article on *Nicholas, St.* (pp. 651-52) by H. F. Stander should have mentioned the bishop's famous church at Myra, a major center of pilgrimage before his relics were stolen and transferred to Bari. See J. Borchardt, ed., *Myra: Eine lykische Metropole in antiker und byzantinischer Zeit* (Berlin: Gebr. Man, 1975); P. J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978).

The article on *Shenoute*, a famous Coptic monk, (pp. 845) by F. W. Norris could have listed such works as: T. Orlandi "A Catechesis against Apocryphal Texts by Shenute and the Gnostic Texts of Nag Hammadi," *Harvard Theological Review* 75 (1982): 85-95; D. W. Young, "Unpublished Shenoutiana in the University of Michigan Library," *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 27 (1982): 251-67; J. Timbie, "The State of Research on the Career of Shenoute of Atripe," in B. A. Pearson and J. E. Goehring, eds., *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress 1986), 258-70.

III. PLACES

There are many excellent articles on places such as *Egypt* (pp. 291-94) by J. E. Goehring, *Carthage* (pp. 177-80) by R. D. Sider, and *Ephesus* (pp. 300-304) by R. Oster. There is a good article on *Libya* (p. 538) by a G. T. B. (see on the problem of identification above), but not on Cyrene. To the bibliography, I would add: J. Reynolds, "The Christian Inscriptions of Cyrenaica," *Journal of Theological Studies* n.s. 11 (1960): 284-94. The article on *Ethiopia* (pp. 318-19) by M. J. Blanchard has a full bibliography, as does that on *Nubia* (pp. 654-55) by W. H. C. Frend. To the former I would add: E. Haberland, *Altes Christentum in Süd-Äthiopien* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1976); S. M. Burstein, "Axum and the Fall of Meroe," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 18 (1981): 47-50; R. W. Cowley, "The Ethiopian Church and the Council of Chalcedon," *Sobornost* 6 (1970): 33-38; J. T. Pawlikoski, "The Judaic Spirit of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 4 (1972): 178-99. To the latter I would also suggest: W. Adams, "Architectural Evolution of the Nubian Church, 500-1400 A.D.," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 4 (1965): 87-139; L. P. Kirwan, "Prelude to Nubian Christianity" in *Mélanges offerts à K. Michalowski* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1966), 121-28.

IV. DOCTRINES

The major articles on doctrines and doctrinal developments are uniformly excellent, and instructive. These include such articles as *Angels* (pp. 38-42) by W. S. Babcock, *Anthropology* (pp. 46-52) by R. H. Weaver, *Apologetics* (pp. 65-71), *Apostles' Creed* (pp. 73-75), *Apostolic Succession* (pp. 76-78), and *Bishop* (pp. 150-54) by E. Ferguson, *Atonement* (pp. 115-21) by F. Young, "Chalcedon, Chalcedonian Creed" by F. W. Norris, *Chiliasm* (pp. 193-97) by B. E. Daily, *Church* (pp. 207-10) by T. Halton, *Filioque* (pp. 347-50) by W. H. Principe, *Grace* (pp. 387-88) by K. J. Torjesen, and *Trinity* (pp. 911-17) by D. F. Winslow.

An authoritative exposition on *God* (pp. 376-82) is contributed by R. M. Grant. To his brief bibliography I would wish to add L. W. Hurtado, *One God, One Lord: Early Christian Devotion and Ancient Jewish Monotheism* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988). The subject of *War* (pp. 935-38) is a thorough treatment with an extensive bibliography by W. M. Swartley.

V. PRACTICES

E. Ferguson has contributed excellent articles such as on *Baptism* (pp. 131-34), and on *Exorcism* (pp. 333-34). His article on *Bread* (pp. 159-60) might well have referred to P. Borgen's monograph, *Bread from Heaven* (Leiden: Brill, 1965). *Divorce* (pp. 271-72) by M. S. Schatkin is supplied with an altogether inadequate bibliography.

Valuable are the extensive and informative articles on *Homosexuality* (pp. 435-36) by D. F. Wright and on *Slavery* (pp. 854-55) by M. P. McHugh. The brief article on *Abortion* (p. 4) by F. W. Norris relies entirely on the monograph by M. J. Gorman. No articles have been included on the related pagan practices of the exposure of infants and of infanticide. On these subjects see: J. T. Noonan, ed., *The*

Review Essay

Morality of Abortion: Legal and Historical Perspectives (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970); E. Nardi, *Procurato Aborto nel Mondo Greco Romano* (Milan: A. Giuffrè, 1971); W. L. Langer, "Infanticide: A Historical Survey," *History of Childhood Quarterly* 1 (1974): 353-65; J. Connery, *Abortion: The Development of the Roman Catholic Perspective* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1977); D. Engels, "The Problem of Female Infanticide in the Greco-Roman World," *Classical Philology* 75 (1980): 112-20; J. E. Boswell, "Expositio and Oblatio: The Abandonment of Children and the Ancient and Medieval Family," *American Historical Review* 89 (1984): 10-33.

Dreams (pp. 280-81) by P. C. Miller contains but a brief bibliography of four items. An extensive discussion which should be cited is J. S. Hanson, "Dreams and Visions in the Greco-Roman World and Early Christianity," *ANRW* II.23.2 (1980), 1395-1427.

VI. ART & ARCHAEOLOGY

An excellent article on *Basilica* (pp. 141-46) is contributed by G. T. Armstrong, and one on *Catacombs* (pp. 182-84) by P. C. Finney. In the latter's article on *Art* (pp. 97-103), the author makes the statement: "The study of Christian architecture in the pre-Constantinian period is beset with difficulties, not the least of them the lack of surviving material evidence. The only building that we have from this period is the Dura-Europos house church. . . ." Since 1968 this has not been true, because of the discovery of the house church found at Capernaum, which has been plausibly interpreted as the original house of Peter. See V. Corbo, *The House of Saint Peter at Capernaum* (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1969); J. F. Strange and H. Shanks, "Has the House Where Jesus Stayed in Capernaum Been Found?" *Biblical Archaeology Review* 8.6 (1982): 26-37.

The article on *Archaeology* (pp. 80-84) by W. H. C. Frend rehearses the history of archaeology and describes well recent discoveries made in Egypt and the Sudan, but says nothing about excavations in Asia Minor and Greece and is woefully deficient with respect to excavations in Israel. Frend's only comment on the latter area is a single sentence, "In recent years, Israeli archaeologists have added greatly to knowledge of Christian Palestine, and not the least to the identification of possible New Testament sites in Jerusalem, including perhaps Golgotha itself." On these areas see J. Finegan, *The Archaeology of the New Testament: The Life of Jesus and the Beginning of the Early Church* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969); idem, *The Archaeology of the New Testament: The Mediterranean World of the Early Christian Apostles* (Boulder: Westview, 1981); E. Yamauchi, *New Testament Cities in Western Asia Minor* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1980); idem, "Archaeology and the Gospels: Discoveries and Publications of the Past Decade (1977-1987)," In J. H. Skilton, ed., *The Gospels Today* (Philadelphia: Skilton House, 1990), 1-12.

VII. HERESIES & SCHISMS

Simon Magus (p. 848) by P. M. Blowers should have included in its bibliography: W. A. Meeks, "Simon Magus in Recent Research," *Religious Studies Review* 3 (1977): 137-42; J. M. Derrett, "Simon Magus (Acts 8:9-24)," *Zeitschrift für die*

neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 73 (1982): 52-68. *Dositheus* (p. 278) by M. P. McHugh has unaccountably missed the major monograph on the subject: S. J. Isser, *The Dositheans* (Leiden: Brill, 1976). *Tatian* (p. 882) by F. W. Norris should have listed G. Quispel, *Tatian and the Gospel of Thomas* (Leiden: Brill, 1975).

Well-written and informative essays include *Arianism* (pp. 84-89) by R. Williams, *Elkesaites* (pp. 296-97) by C. C. Smith, and *Gnosticism* (pp. 371-76) by P. Perkins. On the other hand the latter's article on *Docetism* (pp. 272-73) lacks an adequate bibliography. See E. Yamauchi, "The Crucifixion and Docetic Christology," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 46 (1982): 1-20.

Likewise, Perkins' bibliography on *Mani, Manichaeism* (pp. 562-63) could be greatly expanded. Inasmuch as the translation by H. Cameron and A. Dewey she cites rendered only part of the Mani Codex, it is essential to list the complete series of the editio princeps: A. Henrichs and L. Koenen, "Der Kölner Mani-Kodex. . .," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 5 (1970): 97-216; idem, 19 (1975): 1-85; idem, 32 (1978): 87-199; idem, 44 (1981): 201-318; idem 48 (1982): 1-59; cf also A. Henrichs, "Mani and the Babylonian Baptists," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 77 (1973): 23-49; idem, "The Cologne Mani Codex Reconsidered," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 83 (1979): 339-67; L. Koenen, "Augustine and Manichaeism in Light of the Cologne Mani Codex," *Illinois Classical Studies* 3 (1978): 154-95. For the important Central Asian Turfan texts see: W. Sundermann, *Mittelepersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1973); idem, "Recent Work on Iranian Turfan Texts," *Journal of Central Asia* 6 (1983): 103-11. See also: Augustine, *The Catholic and Manichaean Ways of Life* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1966); P. W. van der Horst and J. Mansfeld, trs., *Alexander of Lycopolis' Treatise: "Critique of the Doctrines of Manichaeus"* (Leiden: Brill, 1974); E. Rose, *Die manichäische Christologie* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1979); H. J. W. Drijvers, "Odes of Solomon and Psalms of Mani, Christians and Manichaeans in Third-century Syria," in R. van den Broek and M. J. Vermaseren, eds., *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions* (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 117-30; H. J. Klimkeit, *Manichaean Art and Calligraphy* (Leiden: Brill, 1982); I. Gruenwald, "Manichaeism and Judaism in the Light of the Cologne Mani Codex," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 50 (1983): 29-43; U. Bianchi, "The Contribution of the Cologne Mani Codex to the Religio-Historical Study of Manichaeism," in A. D. H. Bivar and J. Hinnells, eds., *Papers in Honour of Professor Mary Boyce* (Leiden: Brill, 1985), 15-24; A. Villey, *Contre le doctrine de Mani* (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1985); W. Sundermann, "Studien zur kirchengeschichtlichen Literatur der Iranischen Manichäer," *Altorientalische Forschungen* 13 (1986): 40-92.

VIII. NON-CHRISTIAN FIGURES & MOVEMENTS

R. D. Young has contributed a fine article on *Judaism and Christianity* (pp. 503-7). Also excellent is the essay on *Julian* (p. 510-12) by D. B. Levenson. To the article on *Celsus* (pp. 188-89) by the "unidentifiable" G. T. B. one could add: S. Benko, "Pagan Criticism of Christianity during the First Two Centuries A.D.,"

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ANRW II.23 (1980), 1085-1118; R. J. Hoffmann, *Celsus, On the True Doctrine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

L. M. White in his article on *Mithraism* (pp. 609-10) makes two questionable statements: 1) "An enigmatic mythic figure, Mithras seems to have originated in Hittite Anatolia, but he became prominent in the early Iranian pantheon." 2) "The central mythic cycle focuses on the birth of Mithras (December 25). . . ." As to the first, the god Mitra/Mithra was quite clearly introduced first by the Indo-Aryans from Russia into Iran and into the Indus River Valley. The fact that he is first attested textually in the famous treaty between the Hittites and the Hurrians does not mean that the god originated from the Hittites. See P. Thieme, "The Aryan Gods of the Mitanni Treaties," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 80 (1960): 301-17.

The second assertion, though often repeated, is based on an assumption rather than on any textual evidence. Though Aurelian celebrated the birthday of the *Sol Invictus* on December 25, and though the "Unconquerable Sun" was associated closely with Mithras, it is not at all certain that Mithras' birthday was also on December 25. See R. Beck, "Mithraism Since Franz Cumont," ANRW II.17.4 (1984), 2071; E. Yamauchi, *Persia and the Bible* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1990), 520-21.

Among subjects which might have been included one could list: *Hermogenes, Libanius, Mystery, Orphics, and Pella*, but all in all, in spite of the minor criticisms and deficiencies I have noted, the overwhelming impression one gets from the work is its overall excellence and usefulness. Everett Ferguson and his colleagues richly deserve our gratitude and congratulations. Surely this is a volume which every college, university and seminary library should purchase. All serious scholars and teachers of early Christianity should find it, despite its high cost, an indispensable reference.

p. 176-178.

197 f

248-251

} Vol. I.

Check Nestorian Theology on
2 natures of X^t.

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Bear - Minn. M. & Chem

James E. Bear

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pp. 469. ~~473-474~~ 477

- 3 main points - ① The cult of Confucius
② Ancestor worship
③ Name for God.

Maigret's charges - Lannay 1:

See Lannay's discussion of the 3 pts. pp. 380-391.

^{depuis} Division of Chin into 3 vicariates; 1696 - p. 392ff.
the dioceses Portuense, Sincere & Pekin & Nanky -
~~Chekiang & Kampsu~~ Pek. - N. Chin incl. Shantung;
Nanky - Honan province.
Portuense - bps. of Peking - Nanky, &
parts north.

Maigret bp. of Conon

~~Léon~~ Leblanc bp. Vicar-ep. of Yunnan,
with not episcopal title

de Lionne, ep. vicar-ep. Su-tchuen (?)

1680 - 60,000 Xas. in Cochin China.
at least 10,000 more by 1682.

M. Mahot baptized "petit-fils" of chua-
boys. as Thomas.

Cambay - 1: 287

1682. Tonkin - 200,000 Xas.

- 11 ordained Tonkinese priests on point of ordination
 - 2 2 funds near appt.
 - 5 Surgeon missionaries + 2 Jesuit fathers
- 1.286.

Lawney - p. 71

primary to Laos. (See below p. 3. 298)

1723 . 2617

ed David Black

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(Athens O: Ohio U., Center for
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TRADITION

"History is about past things, and has its uses. But tradition is about present things that have a past - like language, law, theology and worship, to name only a few of the most important."

- Aidan Kavanagh, "Old Books",
in Reflections (Yale Div. School:
Summer, 1992) p. 28.

Add "morality".

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Vol. I Corrections

SAKA

- ① Sir Harold W Bailey IRAN: Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies, vol. 8 (1970) pp. 65-72. "Saka Studies: The Ancient Kingdom of Khotan".
- ② p. 68 Herodotus (vii 64) "In the Persians call all the Scythians Sakai"
 - ③ Chinese speak of ^{the} Sak (later pronounced Sö and Sai) who had a kingdom in 2nd c. BC northwest of Kashgar (p. 66)
 - ④ Wide-ranging tribe of Saka came to Central Asia.. the language of Khotan is a Saka dialect.
 - ⑤ Sarmatians (related to Sakai) were defeated by M. Aurelius and took 8000 in the Roman Army, of whom 5500 cavalry were sent to Roman province of Britain (p. 69)



Broken Lights and Mended Lives

Theology and Common Life in the Early Church

Rowan A. Greer

A discussion by a broadly respected authority of the complicated relationship between theology and ordinary life in the early church. The first section of the book scrutinizes theology with a view to understanding its bearing upon Christian understandings of life (the theological "stories" of Irenaeus, Gregory of Nyssa, and Augustine). The second section examines aspects of ordinary life and explores how Christians related them to religious ideas (the family, hospitality, citizenship, monasticism, and attitudes toward the collapse of the Roman Empire in the West).

This very learned piece of work, which reflects lengthy study of original texts as well as of the current and important secondary literature, is distinctive because it does not conform to the present reigning ideology: The author writes as a convinced Christian thinker. He believes that there is no such thing as a purely detached observer and that the best way of being critical and fair is to make no secret of one's presuppositions, but to face them so as to be able to discount them when necessary. This quality makes the work interesting and suggestive. The book is of importance to scholars and theologians and to all concerned with the early church.

Rowan Allen Greer III is Walter H. Gray Professor of Anglican Studies and Fellow of Jonathan Edwards College, Yale University Divinity School. His previous books include *Theodore of Mopsuestia: Exegete and Theologian*; *The Captain of Our Salvation: A Study in the Patristic Exegesis of Hebrews*; *The Sermon on the Mount*; and *Origen: An Exhortation to Martyrdom, Prayer, and Selected Works*.

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All Things Vain

Religious Satirists and Their Art

Robert A. Kantra

"Religion and satire can be incompatible, even opposed, but they can also join to produce great art." So argues this wide-ranging book, which seeks to identify the essence of religious satire, beginning with the art of such Renaissance figures as Erasmus and Durer and concluding with such modern writers as Beckett, Eliot, and Waugh. Modern painters and sculptors, though not often concerned with religious satire, may employ its themes — as indeed may practitioners of the "new science" flourishing since Newton.

The theme of religious satire, in Kantra's words, is "man's encroachment on the divine — his effort to play God, in whole or in part — whether under the banner of religion or of humanity." Heroic art has the same subject but a different attitude: it celebrates man's pretensions to divinity, whereas religious satire mocks them — sometimes harshly, sometimes gently. "If heroic art is ennobling, satiric art is humbling." Comedy sometimes may be found in satiric works, tragedy never, and tragicomedy always.

The book starts with a brief examination of medieval religious satire: the rough shepherds in mystery plays, the lusty clerics in Chaucer, the roof bosses of Gluttony, Lying, and the Devil swallowing Judas Iscariot in Southwark Cathedral. The Renaissance was a golden era for the genre. Dürer engraved Saint Jerome (who wrote satirical *Letters*), his halo off center, in what Kenneth Clark calls "a typically Erasmian room" with the lion and little dog in the foreground "sharing a conspicuously self-satisfied contentment." Yet Dürer, according to Erwin Panofsky, "failed



when confronted with the small, quiet, supremely ironic face of Erasmus of Rotterdam." But what artist could capture the author of *The Praise of Folly*, who saw self-styled sapient humans as "a swarm of flies and gnats . . . laying traps for one another"?

Kantra contends that the English — Elizabethans, Metaphysicals, Augustans, Victorians, and moderns — have always mixed satire with comedy and tragedy. Donne wrote in *Satyre III* that "our Mistresse faire religion" can look like a "Neare twin" to a strumpet. Satire, Milton said, "was borne out of a Tragedy, so ought to resemble his parentage." Consider his Satan and his fallen legions. Chesterton and Belloc lampooned "essentially modern men" who reject magic and religion. Today religious satire is more alive than ever — among both church-ed writers such as Eliot, Waugh, or Dorothy Sayers, and the unchurched such as Shaw, Joyce, and Beckett — in works that pull down the vanity of modern man's once-proud claim to have conquered nature.

Robert A. Kantra has published or presented more than two dozen papers on religious satire, and has participated in two NEH Summer Seminars. A graduate of Muhlenberg College, he earned his Ph.D. at Ohio State and teaches English literature at Villanova University.

256 pp. 10 ill.

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Arabs were to receive no pension and were not allowed in the cavalry but were allotted a share of the booty in the expanding conquest.

Another point of discrimination, the land tax, developed in different forms in different places. In some areas even Arab Muslims were expected to pay a form of land tax when they became landowners, which occurred usually by state grant,⁷² but sometimes this seems to have been levied only on non-Arabs. At any rate it seemed to many that the empire appeared to be moving toward a three-tiered society in which the gravest danger was the division of Islam into Arab against non-Arab, old Muslims against new converts. It placed Arab Muslims at the top, and non-Arab Muslims (the *mawali*, literally "clients," a term which included most Zoroastrians, and Christian converts to Islam), in the middle protesting this kind of discrimination among fellow Muslims;⁷³ while at the bottom with no right of protest at all were the non-Muslims (Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians, and Manichaeans), recognized and protected by the state and free to practice their religions but only at a heavy price.

How heavy that price had become is apparent in the severe phrases of "the Covenant of 'Umar." It describes how life is to be lived at the bottom of the social scale by those whose religious convictions squeezed them into the category of *dhimmis*, the people of the religious ghettos. The covenant has been mistakenly antedated to the seventh century and attributed to 'Umar I, but in fact and in practice it only gradually took shape under the Umayyad caliphs and did not reach its most definitive versions until the early ninth century. The best text is translated by A. S. Tritton, from which the following summary is abstracted.⁷⁴ It begins:

I, and all Muslims, promise you and your fellow Christians security as long as you and they keep the conditions we impose upon you. Which are: you shall be under Muslim laws and no other, and shall not refuse to do anything we demand of you . . .

Then follows a long list of commands and prohibitions that fall into three categories: criticism of the Muslim religion, major crimes, and lesser misdemeanors. For the first two the penalty was forfeiture of life and property. Major crimes included adultery with or marrying a Muslim woman, robbing a Muslim, evangelizing a Muslim, or helping the enemies of Islam. For Christians, the most damaging stricture was the prohibition of "turning a Muslim from his religion." Lesser trespasses brought lesser penalties. For accidentally killing a Muslim the punishment was the payment of blood money. For selling Muslims forbidden things such as wine, pigs, or blood, the pen-

alty was forfeiture of the price received. For thievery the guilty man's hand was cut off. These punishments were no more severe for Christians than for Muslims.

There were also certain restrictions imposed on the practice of the Christian religion, but no prohibition of Christian faith and practice within the Christian community:

You shall not display the cross in any Moslem town, nor parade your idolatry, nor build a church, nor beat the wooden clappers [used instead of bells by Nestorians], nor use your idolatrous language about Jesus the Son of Mary to any Moslem.

In return for such restraint, the conquerors promised not to destroy or loot already existing churches and monasteries or hinder or forbid Christian worship in the churches in any way.

In addition to the religious restrictions, the covenant imposes a wide burden of social humiliations upon Christians and other religious minorities. These rules were probably not imposed all at once but rather represent a gradual development of discriminatory practices that were collected and added to later editions of the text as accepted precedents. Christians, for example, were ordered to wear a distinctive girdle around their waists so that they might not be confused with Arabs. Later, a large yellow patch on their outer garments, front and back, marked the wearers as Christians.⁷⁵ Special haircuts were mandatory, cut short in front. They had to ride side-saddle, not astride the horse like a soldier or an Arab. They were forbidden to take the high center of the road but had to leave that free for Muslims they might meet; they also could not take the chief seats in assemblies.⁷⁶

The final, and in some ways the most effective disability of all imposed on the Christian *dhimmi* was financial, as we have already observed. The price the Christian had to pay for the right to believe and worship was double taxation.⁷⁷

The sixth Umayyad caliphate, that of the pious and zealous 'Umar II (717-720), might with some justification be described as the first period of general persecution of Christians and other non-Muslims by the government. In his short reign 'Umar tightened the financial pressures on the vulnerable Christian communities and began to squeeze the weak of faith into the protective fold of Islam. He rewarded new converts (*mawali*) by releasing them from a large share of the tax burden imposed on non-Muslims,⁷⁸ forbade the building of new churches, and even ordered any recently erected churches and synagogues to be demolished. Fortunately for the Christians

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T.H.H., G. (11), 13f

who were expected to compensate by their increased taxes for the resultant sharp loss of revenue, the change was too drastic for effective implementation and was dropped when he died. But the mass conversions to Islam were irreversible. The penalty for apostasy was death.

But it was division within Islam, not the suppression of minority religions, that finally brought an end to the Umayyad dynasty. Civil war had already broken out between northern Arabs (Kalbites) and southern Arabs (Qaysites) under the fourth caliph, Marwan I, and was never really ended despite a decisive northern victory in 684. The older split between Sunni (in Syria and elsewhere) and Shi'ites (in Iran) still simmered and spilled over into occasional violence and rebellion. Muslim pietists were incensed at the general political pragmatism of most Umayyad caliphs and never gave them complete loyalty. Moreover, the uncertainties of the process of selecting successors to the throne threw the government into turmoil after the death of each caliph. The choice was not limited to the eldest son but could vary widely and arbitrarily among members of the royal family. Of the fourteen Umayyad caliphs, only four managed to pass the power on directly to their sons.⁷⁹

Upon the death of its tenth caliph, the wise and able Hisham, (724-743), the dynasty virtually collapsed. Christians had praised his statesmanlike tolerance of religious minorities, a policy that ended the repressive edicts of 'Umar II. Hisham's viceroy in the east, Khalid, was particularly noted for kindness to minorities. As the son of a Christian mother he treated the Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians across the Euphrates with unusual justice and courtesy. But the four caliphs who followed him proved unable to cope with the unending explosions of religious and political rebellion that flared throughout the empire. Fighting under the white banners of his dynasty, the last Umayyad in the east fell in 750⁸⁰ and was replaced by a line of rulers, the 'Abbasids, who traced their blood descent to al-'Abbas, a paternal uncle of Muhammad, in whose name and under whose black banner they promised to restore the true, original Islam of the Prophet.

An act of that last Umayyad caliph, Marwan II (745-750), is typical of his dynasty's pragmatic tolerance of Christians. In the first year of his reign, which opened with a vigorous reform that bore promise for a while of revitalizing the dynasty, he officially recognized John II as Jacobite patriarch of Antioch with authority over the Monophysite churches of Asia.⁸¹ The fact that Constantinople, Islam's enemy, considered Jacobites as heretical as Nestorians and oppressed both no doubt had much to do with this restoration of the

holiness by a Christian, while Christians referred to it as proof that Christian teaching was the source of the Prophet's inspiration.

6. ibn-Ishaq, *Life*, trans Guillaume, 180. These early anecdotes are from the more uncritical section of the biography, the early period at Mecca.

7. R. Bell, *The Origin of Islam in Its Christian Environment* (London: Cass, 1926, reprint, 1968), 57f.

8. See K. Cragg, *Muhammad and the Christian* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1984), 18

9. See the account of his visions in the Koran, 53, 1-18

10. "The extraordinary events of the seventh century completely reversed the role of the Arabs. From a peninsular people who had played a marginal and subordinate role in history, they develop into an imperial race, and succeed in terminating the Indo-European interregnum in the Near East, reasserting Semite political presence in the region, and carrying the Semitic political factor into the medieval world by the foundation of a universal state," Irfan Shahid, in P. M. Holt et al., eds., *The Cambridge History of Islam*, vols. 1 and 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1970), 1:25f.

11. ibn-Ishaq, *Life*, trans. Guillaume, 112-231.

12. *Madinat al-nabi*, i.e., "city of the Prophet."

13. A.H. (*anno Hegirae*) 1, therefore, is A.D. 622, but though Muhammad arrived in Medina on September 24, the caliph 'Umar I fixed the date at the beginning of that lunar year, which in the Western calendar would be July 16, 622.

14. "The Jews have their religion and the Muslims have theirs. . . . Each must help the other against anyone who attacks the people of this document," ibn-Ishaq, *Life*, 233.

15. Ibn-Isāw, *Life*, 239-70.

16. The best critical analysis of this period is W. M. Watt's *Muhammad at Medina* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1956), whose interpretation I follow.

17. See the account and analysis in Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 204-220. Also ibn-Ishaq, *Life*, 239-47.

18. In the later development of Islam, however, it must be remembered that, as Goldziher noted long ago, "the *Sunna* [tradition] is the judge over the Koran, and not the Koran judge of the *Sunna*" (I. Goldziher, *Mohammedanische Studien*, vol. 2 [Halle: Niemeyer 1889], 19).

19. See Bell's discussion of Christian and Jewish influences on Muhammad, *Origin of Islam*, 100ff.

20. Browne, *Eclipse of Christianity*, 14. Historians are uncertain about the degree of Muhammad's own literacy. He used secretaries. One of his wives (Hafsa) could read and write; two others could read but not write.

21. It is not known when the first translation of the Gospels into Arabic was made. A tradition, repeated by Bar Hebraeus (Abu'l Faraj) in the thirteenth

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First translation of Gospels
into Arabic (Hebraeus, 13th c.)

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century, relates that an Arab prince ordered "a Monophysite named John" to make a translation around the year 635, but the earliest surviving fragments cannot be dated earlier than the ninth century (see B. Spuler, *The Muslim World*, part I [Leiden: Brill, 1960], 26, n. 1. Whatever Muhammad may have learned directly of the Christian Scriptures must have come from oral communication. See *The Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1913-1936ff.) on "injl" (or indjil, "gospel"). Injl in the Koran refers primarily to the revelation of God to Jesus and secondarily to the Christian Scriptures.

22. Spuler, 1:117.

23. References and quotations from the Koran are from the translation of A. Yusuf Ali, *The Meaning of the Glorious Quran: Text [Arabic], Translation [English] and Commentary*, (Cairo, Beirut, and Lahore, 1938ff.), which is the work of a committed Muslim. For felicitous English phrasing compare A. J. Arberry in Oxford's *The World's Classics* series, *The Koran Interpreted* (Oxford, London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1964). Verse numbering varies slightly in other translations.

24. See especially Surahs 3, 5 and 19, which are named for events connected with Jesus. Other scattered references should be noted, particularly 2:87, 253; 4:157-159, 171; 9:30-31; 43:57-65; 57:26-27; and 61:6. For extended treatments of Jesus as portrayed in the Koran see G. Parrinder, *Jesus in the Qu'ran* (New York: Sheldon, 1965); and S. M. Zwemer, *The Moslem Christ, An Essay on the Life, Character, and Teachings of Jesus Christ According to the Koran and Orthodox Tradition* (New York: American Tract Society, 1912); and Cragg, *Muhammad and the Christian*, 100-120.

25. Muslim commentators have never quite been able to correlate the statement in Surah 4:157 that Jesus did not die, with that in Surah 3:55, where God says (in literal translation) "I will make thee die." Muslim translations soften this in English to "I will take thee."

26. W. Muir, *The Life of Mohammed* (Edinburgh: Grant, 1923), xxff.

27. Some, like T. P. Hughes, in *A Dictionary of Islam* (Lahore: Premier Book House, 1885; reprint 1964) argue that the Koran never disputes the genuine inspiration of the New Testament text, but only refers to its distortion by Christians in their reading of it (see article on "Injl").

28. Holt, *Cambridge History of Islam* 1:33-35. See also Bell, *Origin of Islam* 12ff.

29. In this first period the caliphate, with its capital in Medina, had four rulers:

Abu Bakr, 632-634. Father-in-law of Muhammad through his daughter Aisha; unites rebellious Arab tribes.

'Umar (Omar), 634-644. Father-in-law of Muhammad through his daughter Hafsa; defeats Byzantines and Persians from Alexandria, Jerusalem, Damascus, and Selencia-Ctesiphon and the east; regulates relations with the Christian minority.

'Uthman, 644-656. Son-in-law of Muhammad through marriage to two of

the Prophet's daughters, Ruqayya and Umm Kulthum; ordered compilation of the authorized edition of the Koran.

'Ali, 656-661. Son-in-law of Muhammad through Fatima; his civil war against the Umayyad family of 'Uthman divided Islam into what became Shi'ite against Sunni sections.

30. Surah 49:14 expresses Muhammad's disappointment at more than their tribal disunity; it chides the Bedouins for not even being believers, but only people who have outwardly submitted to Islam. "Not yet has faith entered your hearts."

31. Some say six or seven, others "about a dozen," but the distinction between wife and concubine is ambiguous. The two primary categories were dowered wives and undowered wives, slave or free. Mariyah the Copt and mother of his only son was a slave, not a captured slave but one received as a gift. See Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 395ff. Most of the marriages had supportive political motives, as was the Arab custom. See Watt, 395ff.; Muir, *Life of Mohammed*, 289ff., 298ff.; M. Rodinson, *Mohammed*, trans. A. Carter (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1971), 279ff.

32. The term *caliph* is from the Arabic *khalifah*, "successor," not "prophet," for in Islam, Muhammad is the last and greatest of the prophets.

33. G. E. von Grunebaum, *Classical Islam: A History 600-1258*, trans. K. Watson, (London: Allen & Unwin, 1970).

34. See H. A. R. Gibb and J. H. Kraemer, eds., *Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam*, (Leiden: Brill, 1953), s.v. "Quran."

35. The Traditions (*hadith*) are the collected oral traditions about Muhammad. The standard and most authoritative edition, "the six books," is the work of al-Bukhari (810-970), whose *Al-Jami' as-Sahih*, is a selective and classified compilation made from 600,000 traditions. "An oath taken on it is valid, as if taken on the Koran," writes P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs from Earliest Times to the Present*, 5th ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1953), 395.

36. The last king of the Lakhmids (Persian Arabia), was al-Numan III, a Nestorian Christian who died in 602. The Druze of modern Lebanon trace their origins to him. West of the desert in the kingdom of the Ghassanids (Byzantine Arabia), the later kings became zealous Monophysite Christians, thereby losing the trust of Constantinople though their last king, Jabala ibn-al-Ayham, fought for the Byzantine emperor Heraclius against the Arab advance. When Roman Syria fell to Islam in 636 he turned Muslim, only to renounce his conversion and turn Christian again against the caliph 'Umar. See Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 78-86.

37. al-Baladhuri, *The Origins of the Islamic State (Kitab Futuh al-Buldan)*, trans. P. K. Hitti (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1916), 210. The Muslim historian Baladhuri died in 892.

38. Shi'ite Muslim tradition traces part of its authority in Iran to the alleged marriage of their martyred saint, Husain, son of 'Ali, to the daughter of the last Sassanid shah of Persia, Yazdegerd III. A. E. Belyaev, *Arabs, Islam and*

the Arab Caliphate in the Early Middle Ages (London and New York: Pall Mall and Praeger, 1965), 181.

38. Quoted by A. S. Tritton, *The Caliphs and Their Non-Muslim Subjects* (London: F. Cass, 1970), 10, from Baladhuri, *Futuh al-Buldan*; but cf. Baladhuri, *Origins*, trans. Hitti, 187ff., 198, 201, 213f.

40. Baladhuri, *Origins*, 98-105

41. Baladhuri, *Origins*, 284-286. See also Tritton, *Caliphs*, 89ff.; and Browne, *Eclipse of Christianity*, 32f.

42. Browne notes as "a solitary example of forced conversion of Christians to Islam" the Muslim attack on the servants of the Monastery of St. Catherine at Mt. Sinai, *Eclipse of Christianity*, 38. But it must be pointed out that this took place in the Arabian peninsula, not in conquered foreign territory.

43. See, for example, M. M. Siddiqi, *Development of Islamic State and Society* (Lahore, Pakistan: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1956). His pro-Muslim viewpoint is very obvious but should be listened to.

44. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 105.

45. Tritton, *Caliphs*, 141.

46. Tritton, *Caliphs*, 18f.

47. Tritton, *Caliphs*, 18f.

48. Both treaties are reported by the twelfth-century Nestorian historian Mari ibn Suleiman, whose *Book of the Tower* tends to use earlier sources uncritically. See Browne, *Eclipse of Christianity*, 41.

49. Browne, *Eclipse of Christianity*, 41, citing Assemani III, pt. II, xcvi.

50. Prefiguring the creation of the maphrianate was the elevation in 559 of the bishop of Beth Arabaye to the title of "metropolitan of the East." This first Jacobite metropolitan in Persia was martyred in 575 by Chosroes I. (See Atiya, *History of Eastern Christianity*, 183f.) The greatest of the maphrians was the thirteenth-century Bar Hebraeus, encyclopaedic historian and chronicler of the church in Asia up to the time of the Mongol invasions.

51. Atiya, *History of Eastern Christianity*, 195ff. For details of Bishop George's life, see Kathleen McVey "A Memra on the Life of Severus of Antioch" by George, Bishop of the Arab Tribes," Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard, 1977.

52. The principal Umayyad caliphs were:

1. Mu'awiya I (661-680), who made Syria the center of power.
2. Yazid I (680-683), whose victory over a Shi'ite rebellion created a Shi'ite martyr-saint, Husain ibn-Ali, grandson of the Prophet.
5. Abd al-Malik (685-705), who reformed and strengthened government finances and structures.
6. Walid I (705-715), whose generals conquered central Asia and spread Islam eastward to the borders of China and India.
8. 'Umar II (717-720), who freed converts to Islam from poll tax.

10. Hisham (724-743), who restored a policy of tolerance to minorities.
11. Walid II (743-744), who faced tribal rivalries and dynastic decline.
14. Marwan II (745-750), last of the Umayyads.
53. Baladhuri, *Origins*, 210f. See also A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, 2 vols. (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1958), 1:194ff.
54. The family might have been of Kalb or Taghlib tribal origin, but that is only conjecture from the name. Baladhuri gives a vivid account of the surrender and the lenient terms granted the Christians in Damascus. Baladhuri, *Origins*, 186-93.
55. For the best critical summary of the biographical data available about this important figure, I rely principally on D. J. Sahas, *John of Damascus on Islam: The "Heresy of the Ishmaelites"* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 32-48. Cf. J. Nasrallah, *Saint Jean de Damas, Son époque, sa vie, son oeuvre* (Paris: Office des Editions Universitaires, 1950). John of Damascus belongs as much to Western church history as to Asian, but because of his unique position under Muslim rule he cannot be ignored in this survey. Sahas suggests 652 for John's birth, much earlier than the traditional 675.
56. The legend is recorded in a hagiographic eleventh-century biography of John attributed to a patriarch of Jerusalem named John. The caliph ordered his hand cut off in punishment, says the *Life*, but when he prayed before an icon of the Holy Mother of God, it was miraculously restored.
57. Under Caliph 'Umar II (717-720). See p. 000.
58. A. A. Vasiliev, "The Iconoclastic Edict of Yazid II, A.D. 721", in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 9-10 (1955-56); 25-47, cited by Sahas, *John*, 9ff.
59. Sahas, *John*, 54.
60. For the text in English of John of Damascus's chapter 101 on Islam in the *Fount of Knowledge*, Part II (*De Haeresibus*), see John of Damascus, *Writings*, trans. F. H. Chase, Jr., vol. 37, *The Fathers of the Church* series (New York: Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1958), 153-60. For critical comment, see Sahas, *John*, 67-95.
61. John of Damascus, *Writings*, (Chase's introduction). For a short, perceptive analysis of John's theology as more philosophic and scholastic than religious, see A. C. McGiffert, *A History of Christian Thought*, vol. 1 (New York: Scribner, 1932), 310-29.
62. John, *Writings*, 153. He was no less abrupt in his condemnation of Nestorians ("The Nestorians hold that God the Word exists by Himself and separately, and that His humanity exists by itself. . . . They do not attribute the both to the same Person"). At greater length he chastised Monophysites as "clumsy and stupid" in theological argument, "a godless and most abominable heresy," 138ff.
63. John, *Writings*. See the Koran, Surah 112.
64. Sahas *John*, 79, whose complete critical commentary on the text (pp. 67-95) should be consulted.

65. John, *Writings* 155ff. "As long as you say that Christ is the Word of God and Spirit . . . , if the Word of God is in God, then it is obvious that He is God. If however, He is outside of God, then, according to you, God is without word [reason] and without spirit . . . as if you were dealing with a stone or a pice of wood."
66. See pp. 000ff.
67. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 196, 254. See also H. Lammens, "Le Chantre des Omiades, Notes biographiques et litteraires sur le poete Arabe Chretien Ahtal," *Journal Asiatique Neuvieme serie*, 4, (Paris, 1894); 94-176, 193-241, 381-459.
68. The word is not quite equivalent to "ghetto," which has a spacial, localized connotation. *Dhimmi* is the one restricted but protected by the system, i.e., referring to the *people* in the ghetto; *dhimma* is the relationship between Muslim protector and the religious minorities (*dhimmis*) thus protected, i.e., the *system*, but not the place.
69. See 'A. al-H. Zarrinkub, in *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 4, 50f. But many of the old penalties remained in force. *The Selected, Parthian and Sasanian Periods*, Edited by E. Yarshatir, 1983.
70. See pp. 000ff.
71. Surah 9 states, "Make war upon such of those to whom the Scriptures have been given as believe not in God . . . and who profess not the profession of the truth, until they pay tribute out of hand, and they be humbled." On taxation in this period, see D. C. Dennett, *Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1950); and Tritton, *Caliphs*.
72. von Grunebaum, *Classical Islam*, 57, observes that in the Syrian provinces most Byzantine landowners abandoned their lands to the Arabs, but in Persia the owners "managed by and large to stay on."
73. These non-Arab, or "new" Muslims, were most numerous and active in Mesopotamia and Persia and were particularly resentful of the discriminatory taxes to which they were subjected. See Belyaev, *Arabs*, 178-84.
74. Tritton, *Caliphs*, 12ff., quoting from the *Kitab ul Umm*. This version dates perhaps to around 810, but seems to combine features of a number of earlier texts.
75. Tritton, *Caliphs*, 118. This is uncomfortably reminiscent of Nazi impositions on Jews.
76. Tritton, *Caliphs*, 14, 100 ←
77. ~~No text on disk?~~
78. This is in part an oversimplification. See the next note.
79. His tax poicy is sometimes described as forgiveness of land tax (*kharaj*) for Muslim landowners and new converts and double tax, that is, land tax plus poll tax (*jizya*), for non-Muslims, but the two terms are used so interchangeably under the Umayyads, and taxes were collected so differently in

various regions, that no such simplification is possible. About all that can be said with certainty concerning this period is that 'Umar lowered taxes drastically for Muslims and raised them for the people of the religious ghettos. See Tritton, *Caliphs*, 197-215, as amended by the research of F. Lokkegaard, *Islamic Taxation* (1950), and Dennett, *Conversion and the Poll Tax*.

80. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 281f.

81. In Spain a collateral Umayyad dynasty survived until 1031 AD.

82. Browne, *Eclipse of Christianity*, 51, citing Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*.

83. Browne, *Eclipse of Christianity*, citing Mari (ed. Gismondi) and Assemani (*Bibliotheca Orientalis*).

84. The more noted 'Abbasid caliphs (whose names I give here with the nominal prefix "al-", which elsewhere will usually be omitted, and which are royal titles, not their personal names) were:

1. al-Saffah (750-754).
2. al-Mansur (754-775), turned against his Shi'ite allies, but adopted Persian ways and moved the capital to Damascus.
3. al-Mahdi (775-785), friend of the Nestorian patriarch Timothy I, but did not prevent sporadic persecution.
5. Harun al-Rashid (785-809), ruled at the height of 'Abbasid power, allowed further oppression of Christians.
6. al-Amin (809-813); decline of Arab influence.
7. al-Ma'mun (813-833); power flows to the provinces.
8. al-Mu'tasim (833-847), moved the court to Samarra but was unable to escape the rising power of the Turks in his empire.
10. al-Mutawakkil (847-861), revitalized Sunni orthodoxy and increased social and financial pressures on religious minorities.
15. al-Mu'tamid (870-892), encouraged the collection of "the Traditions" of the Muslim religion.
18. al-Muqtadir (908-932), lost western North Africa to the Fatimids, a sectarian Shi'ite dynasty.
22. al-Mustakfi (944-946), a puppet of Shi'ite Buyids (Buwayhids) from Iran who seized Baghdad, controlled the empire, and left to the caliph little but his religious authority.
23. al-Muti' (946-974) lost Egypt to the Fatimids.

For an extensive survey of Arab sources in early 'Abbasid history, see F. Omar, *The 'Abbasid Caliphate, 750-786* (Baghdad: University of Baghdad, 1969).

85. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 289f. Recent analyses interpret this also in terms of a replacement of Syrian influence with Iraqi-Iranian influence in administration (see *Cambridge History of Islam*, 1:108). For the reference to

China, see Hitti, p. 292, citing Tabari (ed. de Goeje, [Leiden, 1881-82] vol. 3, p. 272.

86. This was not the first open debate between a Christian apologist and a prominent Muslim. "The earliest and most important record," wrote Mingana in 1922, "seems to be the colloquy which took place in Syria between the Arab generals and the Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch, John I . . . in A.D. 639," the text of which was published by F. Nau in *Journal Asiatique* (1915) and summarized by Mingana in 1916. See A. Mingana, in his introduction to 'Ali al-Tabari's *Kitab al-Din*. (Manchester Univ. Press, 1922), vi.

87. Timothy I, *The Apology of Timothy the Patriarch before the Caliph Mahdi*, Syriac text and English translation ed. and trans. A. Mingana as "Woodbrooke Studies" no. 3, in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, 12, no. 1 (January 1928); 137-298. See H. Putnam's critical analysis of the Arabic text with French translation, *L'Eglise et l'Islam sous Timothée I (780-823)* (Beirut: Dar el-Machreq, 1975), 169-327.

88. Timothy I, *Apology*, ed. Mingana, 152f.

89. Timothy I, *Apology*, 153ff.

90. Timothy I, *Apology*, 199, 215.

91. Timothy I, *Apology*, 171f.; see pp. 153, 156, 159, 208, and *passim*.

92. Timothy I, *Apology*, 193. In his development of this argument Timothy reflects the anti-Judaic temper that increasingly marred Christian-Jewish relations from the late fourth century on, in Asia as well as in the West.

93. Timothy I, *Apology*, 197. Note that Timothy does not describe Muhammad as a prophet, but as "walking in the path of the prophets." He had already told the Caliph that "there is only one prophet who would come to the world after . . . Jesus Christ," and that is Elijah, quoting Malachi 4:4-6. (p. 190).

94. Timothy I, *Apology*, 197f.

95. Timothy I, *Apology*, 224-26.

96. On Timothy I and his patriarchate, see Putnam, *L'Eglise et l'Islam*; and R. J. Bidawid, *Les Lettres du Patriarche Nestorien Timothée I* (Vatican City: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1956), esp. 1-44, which summarizes his life, works, and fifty-nine of his surviving letters.

97. A. R. Vine (*The Nestorian Churches* [London: Independent, 1937]) lists the patriarchs of Seleucia-Ctesiphon for the first two hundred years of the 'Abbasid caliphate (750-1000) as follows:

Mar Aba II (742-752), Surinus (754), Jacob II (754-773), Hananyeshu II (774-778), Timothy I (778-820), Josue (820-824), Georgius II (825-829), VACANCY (829-832), Sabaryeshu II (832-836), Abraham II (836-849), VACANCY (849-852), Theodosius (852-858), Sergius (860-872), VACANCY (872-877), Enos (877-884), John II (884-892), John III (892-898), John IV (900-905), Abraham

III (905-937), Emmanuel (938-960), Israel (962), Ebedyeshu I (936-986), Mares (987-1001).

98. Timothy was elected by a convocation of only four of the eight electoral metropolitans (Damascus, Holwan, Beth Seluk, and Merv). Even the prime Metropolitan (of Beth Lapat) was not present. The election was disputed and Timothy accepted reconsecration by the Metropolitan of Beth Lapat (J. B. Chabot, ed., *Synodicon Orientale ou Recueil de Synodes Nestoriens*, (Paris: Klincksieck, 1902), 605-606.

99. Browne, *Eclipse of Christianity* 57, citing Mari, fol. 185b, 'Amr, p. 64.

100. Vine, *Nestorian Churches*, 109f.

101. Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale*, 604-607; A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn: Markus and Weber, 1922), 217.

102. Cf. Vine, *Nestorian Churches*, 125; and see Chap. 16, p. 000.

103. Bar Hebraeus, *Eccl. Chronicle*, cited by Mingana, "Early Spread of Christianity in India," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 10, no. 2 (July 1926); 467 (pp. 34-36 in reprint as pamphlet).

104. Mingana, "Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia and the Far East," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 9, no. 2 (July 1925); 308, citing Mari, the *Book of the Tower* (ca. 1140).

105. The phrase is from W. Budge in his introduction to Thomas of Marga's *Book of Governors* 2 vols. (London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1893), 1:cxv, n.1, and cxvi.

106. Thomas of Marga, *The Book of Governors*, ed. Budge, 2:469-86.

107. Thomas of Marga, *Book of Governors*, 2:448.

108. Thomas of Marga, *Book of Governors*, 2:489.

109. See his letter to the bishop of Elam; and a letter against the doctrines of Cyril of Alexandria. Timothy I, *Letters*, ed. O. Braun as "Timothei Patriarchae I epistolae," letters 21 and 39, in *CSCO Script. Syri*, series 2a, t. 57, (Syrian text and Latin translation); 1914, 1915). On his relations with non-Nestorian Christians see Putnam, *L'Eglise et l'Islam*, 84-88.

110. Putnam, *L'Eglise et l'Islam*, 85.

111. A. Fortescue, *The Lesser Eastern Churches* (London: Catholic Truth Society, 1913), 95, citing G. D. Malech, *History of the Syrian Nation*, p. 269f.

112. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 307.

113. Second only to the Christians in the early translation work was a school of star-worshipping Sabians from the vicinity of Edessa who had always been interested in astronomy and mathematics. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 314f.

114. Until the fifteenth century the Maronites were a separatist sect in the mountains of Lebanon who were considered heretics because of their doctrine of the "one divine will" in Christ, a belief that would make his human nature incomplete. About 1445, no longer unorthodox, they joined the Roman communion as one of its Uniate branches.

115. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 311f. Hitti relates the story that when he was taunted by a court attendant, he turned on the man and said, "If the folly with which you are afflicted were turned into intelligence and divided among a hundred beetles, each would then become more intelligent than Aristotle."

116. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 312-14. Thanks to Hunayn, says Hitti, "seven books of Galen's anatomy, lost in the original Greek, have been preserved in Arabic. Hunayn's version of the Old Testament from the Greek Septuagint did not survive."

117. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, citing Ibn al-'Tbri, pp. 251-52.

118. B. Spuler, *The Muslim World*, 3 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1960, 1969), 1:64f.

119. See Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 439f.

120. See Putnam, *L'Eglise et l'Islam*, 132f.

121. See the polemic against Christians by Jahiz (d. 869), a Muslim philosopher of the Mu'tazilite school: "When you hear their [the Christians'] speech about pardon and forgiveness, and their talk of the wandering monastic life, and their grumbling against anyone who eats flesh . . . and their encouraging continence in marriage . . . and their praise of the Catholicus . . . you know that between their religion and that of the *Zindiqs* [Manichaeans] there is an affinity," Browne, *Eclipse of Christianity*, 69, citing Finkel, *Three Essays*.

122. Vine, *Nestorian Churches*, 93.

123. Between 70,000 and 90,000 dinars, about \$2 million today. See Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 171 n., 299.

124. Tritton, *Caliphs*, 49, citing *Kitab ul Umm* and an "Anonymous Syriac Chronicle" in *CSCO*, ser. 3, vols. 14, 15. See also Tritton's comments on the irregularity both of the terms and enforcement of the orders against new church building, pp. 37ff.

125. Tritton, *Caliphs*, 186f.

126. Tritton, *Caliphs*, 187ff.

127. See Chap. 15, pp. 000ff.

128. The exact date is debated, as is the date of Theodosius' death. See Vine, *Nestorian Churches*, 95, 138.

129. Browne, *Eclipse of Christianity*, 54, citing Mari, fol. 191a-191b, and Bar Hebraeus, *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum* 2, col. 192. There are differences in the accounts.

130. Thomas of Marga, *Book of Governors*, 2:228-30.

131. Browne, *Eclipse of Christianity*, 57f., citing a quotation from Bar Hebraeus in Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 3, pt. 2.

132. Thomas of Marga, *Book of Governors*, 2:53ff.

133. Thomas of Marga, *Book of Governors*, 2:153ff. Here Budge inserts the

(Today, he would apply it to
prohibiting slavery, but it was
considered wrong by
many)

→ 123 note

Arabic text of the Patriarch's letter to the rebellious metropolitan of Fars (Rewardashir).

134. Thomas of Marga, *Book of Governors*, 2:91ff.

135. Thomas of Marga, *Book of Governors*, 2:293.

136. Thomas of Marga, *Book of Governors*, 2:247f.

137. Vine, *Nestorian Churches*, 57, 112-24, gives the two lists as follows. In 500 seven metropolitan provinces in the Persian empire: Kaskar, Nisibis, Teredon (Basra), Adiabene (Erbil, i.e., Arbela), Garamaea (Karkha), Khurasan (Merv), Atropatene (Taurisium). But by 1000 he lists these additional metropolitanates in the 'Abbasid empire: Gundishapur (established 834), Mosul (est. 651), Holwan (est. 754, later including Hamadan), Fars (est. probably at Rewardashir before 650), Herat (est. eighth century), Arran (est. at Bardaa about 900), Rai, near modern Teheran (est. about 778), and Dailan on the Caspian shore (est. at Mukar about 780). Cf. the list of Metropolitans and bishops in W. G. Young, *Patriarch, Shah and Caliph*, 189-196.

In addition he lists the following metropolitanates outside the old Persian empire: China (est. at Chang'an about 636), Damascus (est. before end of seventh century), Turkestan (est. at Samarkand about 781), India (est. about 800). A metropolitan of Jerusalem was named in 1065 to care for Nestorian pilgrims.

138. Maris, Amri and Slibae, *De Patriarchis nestorianorum commentaria*, in Arabic, ed. with Latin translation by R. Gismondi, first part (Rome, 1899), 135/117. For further documentation on the authority of the Nestorian patriarchs, see Putnam, *L'Eglise of l'Islam*, 85-88. Cf. Vine, *Nestorian Churches* 106, who uses another text (perhaps following J. S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 3(2): 100) and translates "Jacobites and Rum" as "Rum [Roman Catholics], Jacobites and Melkites."

139. Browne, *Eclipse of Christianity*, 51.

140. On the Buhtisu family and other Christian physicians, see Putnam, *L'Eglise et l'Islam*, 97-104.

141. The *Kitab al-Din w'al-dawlah* by Ali Tabari, trans. A. Mingana (Manchester: University of Manchester, 1922). It was Bar Hebraeus who used the epithet "hater of Christians" about Mutawakkil.

142. Quoted by Browne, *Eclipse of Christianity*, 117.

143. A possible exception is the St. Thomas community in India, but the available evidence there is insufficient for comparison.

144. "Or les moines ne sont pas actuellement des propagandistes," George Tartar, editor and translator into French, *Dialogue Islamo-Chretien sous le calife Al-Mamum (813-834)* (Paris: Etudes Coraniques, Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1985), 280, a translation of al-Kindi's *Risalat (Apology)*. Al-Kindi (not the Muslim historian ibn-Ishaq al-Kindi) spoke or wrote the sentence as he was trying to explain why the Christian message was no longer attested by accompanying miracles.

ibn Sina



Alphonse Mingana

1878-1937

by

Samir Khalil Samir SJ

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ALPHONSE MINGANA

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1878-1937

**and his contribution to early
Christian-Muslim Studies**

by

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A lecture delivered on 25 May 1990 to
the First Woodbrooke Mingana Symposium
on "Christian Arabic Apologetic texts
during the Abbasid period 750-1258 CE"

Selly Oak Colleges
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ALPHONSE MINGANA (1878-1937) AND HIS CONTRIBUTION TO EARLY CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM STUDIES

It gives me great pleasure to have the opportunity of considering Alphonse Mingana, his life and work, and his contribution to Muslim-Christian studies. And where better to do so than here in the Selly Oak Colleges, where Mingana lived and worked for so many years?

Much about Mingana's life remains enigmatic. Born in Iraq, he abandoned his country for reasons still not clearly understood, and emigrated to England, where, for good reason, he became famous. We will try to follow him in his geographical and intellectual journey, from Iraq to Birmingham, to Manchester and back to Birmingham. But before I go further, I would like to acknowledge my debt to Marie Mingana, the daughter of our "hero", for the valuable information she has given me about her father (1).

1. IRAQ (1878-1913)

This part of Mingana's life is the most enigmatic and the most controversial. It can be divided into two phases: the student phase (until 1902) and the scholar phase (from 1902).

a) Mingana's youth in Iraq (1878-1902)

This is the formative period, and extends up to the ordination of our scholar, who was not yet known as Alphonse. We can divide this period into two sections: first his childhood, when he was at home in his village, for a little more than 12 years; then his studies, when he moved to the Seminary of Mosul, for almost 12 further years.

1) At home (1878-1891)

Alphonse Mingana was born on the 23 December, probably in 1878, not in 1881 as most biographies say (2), and not in 1883 as written in the Ottoman Attestation delivered in AH 1325 (= AD 1907-1908) (3).

He was born in the Christian village of Sharânsh al-'Ulyâ, called also Sharânsh an-Nasârah (Sharânsh of the Christians) (4) to distinguish it from Sharânsh al-Islam, in the district of Zâkho (North Iraq). The village was famous for its climate, its many springs and its vines.

His parents were pious Chaldeans (that is, Christians from the Catholic Syrian Oriental tradition). According to some sources, they were 'rich landowners' (5) (this view is widely repeated); but according to Vosté, they were simple peasants, owning a small piece of land (6). If I read the Ottoman Attestation correctly, they were both born in a village called Burjân.

Although it is not mentioned in any Western biography, it is certain that his father Paul (Paôlôs) was a Catholic priest (7). He worked first in Bigo (in modern Turkey, almost on the border with Iraq), and then returned to his home village (8). His mother was Maryam Nânô (9).

They had eight children, six boys and two girls. Alphonse was the oldest; it was then normal that he should follow in the footsteps of his father and enter the priesthood. One of the two girls became a nun; I have been told that she was living until recently in Fribourg, Switzerland (10). The longest surviving brother was Kada', who died in 1973 (11).

His real name was Hurmiz, a common proper name among Chaldeans of the Mosul region, who were very devoted to the famous monastery of Dayr al-Rabbân Hurmizd near Alqosh.

Later, at the time of his ordination, he changed his name, as Chaldean priests still do, and took the name of Alphonse. He was then known as "Qass Alphonse" (priest Alphonse), the word Qass being a part of his name even in the official Ottoman Attestation.

At home, the family probably spoke more neo-Syriac (Sureth) than Arabic, but it is likely that they heard some Turkish and Kurdish. We are told that Hurmiz learned classical Syriac from his father while still a child.

ii) At the Mosul Seminary (1891-1902)

Contrary to the statement in his English biography, he never went to France as a child: 'they sent their son for education to the Lycée St Jean in Lyons. Here he acquired complete command of French, and his European training' (12). This assertion is repeated everywhere, and was even made to me by Mingana's daughter.

He was in fact sent to the 'Séminaire Saint Jean' of Mosul, founded by Mgr Eugène Louis Lion (13). This seminary was run by French Dominican Fathers, and trained young boys from the two Syriac speaking Catholic communities (Syrian and Chaldean) for the priesthood.

The mistake is understandable for English-speaking people, and is not to be attributed to Mingana himself, who could have said, if asked about his complete command of French, that he learned it in the school of Saint Jean of Lion (not of Lyon in France).

Later on, his daughter Marie informed me he used to spend the summer holidays in Brittany (France) with his family.

He entered the Seminary in 1891, probably in September or October. He was then not yet thirteen years old.

There he studied languages: Turkish (which was obligatory, Iraq being part of the Ottoman empire), Persian and Kurdish (the area being inhabited by many Kurds). Latin and French, and obviously Arabic and Syriac, but also Hebrew (14). He had a very good teacher in Syriac and Arabic, the famous Ya'qub Awgin (= Eugène Manna (1867-1928) (15), who was 'ein ausgezeichneter Kenner der syrischen und arabischen Sprache'. [Tr: 'an outstanding scholar of the Syrian and Arabic languages'] (16).

Hurmiz was a brilliant student. He completed the curriculum of a normal catholic seminary, with special attention to Church Fathers and Church History. In 1902 he was ordained priest by the Chaldean Patriarch Emmanuel II Thomas, who was patriarch from 1900 to 1947, and took the name of Alphonse.

b) Teaching Syriac in the Mosul Seminary (1902-1910)

The new priest started working in his own village where he stayed for some months but at the end of the year 1902, due to his intelligence and to some external circumstance, he was called to Mosul, to the Seminary.

On 30 November 1902, Awgin Manna, the teacher of Syriac and Arabic in the Seminary, was consecrated bishop, together with two other learned Chaldean priests Addaï Scher (17) and Stephen Gabri (18). The patriarch decided then that Alphonse Mingana should succeed Awgin Manna as teacher of Syriac.

From that time on Mingana dedicated himself to research, especially on his Syriac tradition. He travelled in the surrounding countryside, collecting Syriac manuscripts kept by families, presumably for his Seminary. According to his own assertion (19), he collected 70 manuscripts, 20 of them on vellum (20), which unfortunately were burnt during the war of 1914-1918.

Between 1903 and 1910, Mingana was also appointed corrector of Syriac and Arabic Books of the Dominican Press (Mosul) (21). But he was never Director of the Dominican Press, as we read in many English publications (22) and in Macuch's History (23), this position being always filled by a senior member of the Dominican Order.

In this capacity, he probably helped the Dominican Press in publishing the offices of baptism, matrimony and the burial of the dead of the Chaldean Church (24), but he plainly did not publish the *Officium juxta ritum Syrorum Orientalium* in three volumes, as he claimed (25). These volumes had already been published by the Persian Lazarist Paul Bedjan in 1886-1887 when Mingana was a child, and were not published again until recent times.

In 1905, Mingana published for his students a Syriac grammar, which is still much appreciated in Iraq (26). The French text is largely attributable to Father Sébastien Scheil OP, brother of the famous Assyriologist Father Vincent Scheil OP, Director of the Seminary. Fairly, Mingana acknowledges this contribution at the end of the Preface:

'Ici nous tenons à remercier notre excellent maître et directeur *Sébastien Scheil* OP, qui a eu l'obligeance de revoir et de corriger deux fois le texte de notre grammaire, avant et après l'impression; c'est lui que doit revenir, juste titre, tout ce qu'elle contient de bon. Mossoul 9 Octobre 1905'. [Tr: 'Here we wish to thank our excellent teacher and director Sébastien Scheil OP who has been good enough twice to look through and to correct the text of our Grammar, both before and after it was printed; it is to him that all the good it contains should properly be ascribed. Mosul, 9 October 1905'] (27).

c) Narsai's Homilies (1905)

i) The edition of Narsai's Homilies

In 1905, Mingana also published two large volumes in Syriac of the works of Narsai (AD 399-502), the founder of the School of Nisibis (28). The edition is preceded by a rather long Latin preface (p 5-40), which includes in Appendix (p 32-39) an account of the school of Nisibis by Bar Hadbeshabba, as we shall see. This work is still the only available edition of a great part of the works of Narsai (one of the greatest Nestorian theologians); most of it has not yet been translated into any other language (29).

It was not a critical edition. It was intended to be a reading book for Chaldean priests, not a book for scholars. For that reason, the homilies were slightly expurgated to suppress some Nestorian affirmations. It may be in these circumstances that Mingana had some problems with the ecclesiastical censor. But

the relationship with the Seminary and the Dominican Fathers was not affected, as is attested by his dedication of the two volumes to 'Missioni dominicanae et seminario syro-chaldeo Mausiliensi, in significationem grati et devoti animi'. [Tr: 'the Dominican missions and the Syro-Chaldean seminary of Mosul, as a sign of a grateful and devoted heart'] (30).

ii) The reaction of Chabot

The real problem was created by one page of his preface (31). In effect, Mingana published (p 32-39) a section of the text of Bar Hadbeshabba on 'the causes of the foundation of the Schools', which text was to be published completely two years later (with a French translation) by Addaï Scher (32).

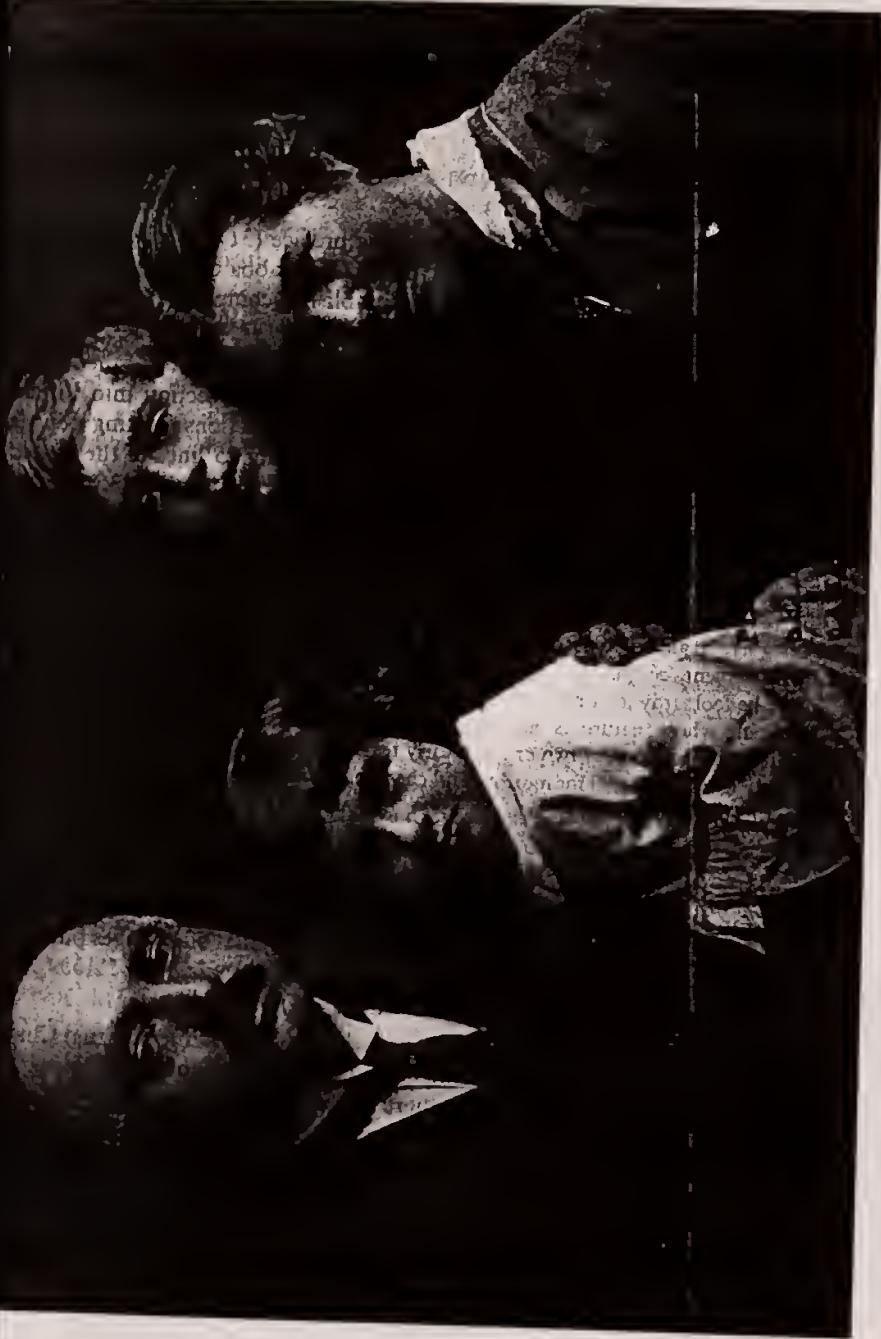
Because of its importance, Jean-Baptiste Chabot (the founder of the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*) (33), translated this section into French, with a commentary (34). He showed clearly some contradictions existing between paragraphs I-V and paragraphs VI-VIII (the latter covering 25 lines of the Syriac), which were separated, said Mingana, by a big gap in the manuscript (35). Chabot concluded his study with these remarks:

'Il serait téméraire d'attribuer une autorité prépondérante à notre auteur. Nous sommes en présence d'un document dont le caractère n'est pas nettement défini, mais qui paraît une juxtaposition mal coordonnée de deux ou plusieurs récits antérieurs, dont les assertions, avant d'être adoptées comme décisives, demandent à être contrôlées soigneusement, ce qui est impossible dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances'. [Tr: 'It would be foolhardy to attribute too high an authority to our author. We are faced with a document whose nature is not clearly defined, but which appears to be a badly coordinated conflation of two or more early texts, the assertions in which, before being accepted as decisive, call for more careful checking than is possible in view of the present extent of our knowledge.'] (36).

iii) Mingana's response

Our young (and still unknown editor) replied immediately to the old and famous scholar, in a rather aggressive and personal way, in a pamphlet of 19 pages published in Mosul, probably at the end of 1905. He entitled it: *Réponse à Mr l'Abbé J - B Chabot, à propos de la Chronique de Barhadhsabba* (37).

From this response, it seems that Mingana had been hurt by the fact that Chabot said only a few words on the edition, and concentrated his attention on a few pages of the introduction (38). It seems to me that there is here a misunderstanding: Chabot in fact is not reviewing the two volumes of Mingana; he is writing an historical article based on some pages published by Mingana in his introduction. Mingana then attacked Chabot personally, saying that he was 'un homme qui ne sait lire et comprendre le syriaque qu'à coups de dictionnaire, ou par les yeux d'un *chammâs* (39) sans études préparatoires *ad hoc*'. [Tr: 'a man who can only read and understand Syriac with the help of a dictionary or through the eyes of a *chammâs* untrained in the matter.'] (40).



Mingana with his family.

This critique was to be repeated by another famous Oriental from Mosul and one of the best connoisseurs of Syriac literature, the Patriarch Aphram I Barsaum (1887-1957) (41), a good friend of Mingana (42). In the conclusion of his 'Histoire des sciences et de la littérature syriaques' published first in 1943, he wrote a whole section of nine pages against some Orientalists in defence of Syriac authors (43). Near the end of this section he refers scathingly to these Orientalists as being unable to read two pages of Syriac (not to speak of writing in Syriac) without the help of dictionaries! (44).

In fact, Mingana did not resolve the historical difficulties pointed out by Chabot, or explain the provenance of the three last paragraphs. Furthermore, he implicitly admitted having introduced modifications in his text, giving some rather embarrassed explanations (45).

One gets the feeling that Mingana was irritated by the authority of the Orientalists, who certainly knew less Syriac than he did. In the preface to Narsai, he criticises another famous historian, Jérôme Labourt. He writes: 'Ex hac narratione Bar Hadhbchabbae, liquet quales correctiones efferendae sint operi D J Labourt, *Le christianisme dans l'empire perse*'. [Tr: 'From this narrative of Bar Hadbeshabba should be left aside such corrections as were made in the work of D J Labourt *Christianity in the Persian Empire*.'] (46).

Two years later, he spoke ironically of Orientalists, calling them with condescension 'nos syrologues modernes' (47).

Much later, in 1933, presenting the first volume of his collection, Mingana maintains this satirical approach. He writes: 'In preparing this catalogue I determined to keep within the limits of one volume. Had I followed the practice of Assemani, Wright, Sachau and some other scholars it would have exceeded three volumes. All those students whose researches compel them frequently to consult cumbersome catalogues consisting of many volumes, will appreciate my restraint on this point' (48).

iv) Consequences for Mingana's career

The edition of the text of Bar Hadbeshabba by Addaï Scher in 1907 (49), proved clearly that Chabot was right. In his introduction, Scher says that the 25 suspect lines are not to be found in any manuscript. Nevertheless, he tries to find a compromise, suggesting that these lines 'feraient partie de l'*Histoire* de Bar Hadhbchabba et auraient été insérés dans le manuscrit de M Mingana ou dans son prototype à la fin du traité que nous publions, par un copiste quelconque, comme supplément'. [Tr: 'belong to the *History* by Bar Hadbeshabba and would have been inserted by some copyist into the manuscript of Mr Mingana, or its prototype, at the end of the treatise we here publish, as a supplement.'] (50).

But the publication of the second part of this *History* in 1913, by François Nau (51), did not confirm this hypothesis: the 25 lines are not in this second part either!

The worst of this whole story is that, from now on, scholars were to have doubts about the Mingana's method and about his scientific honesty: did he really find the 25 lines he published in a Manuscript (and in that case, why does he not exhibit it?), or did he forge them?

This mistake of the young Mingana (in 1904, when he wrote his preface, he was only 26) added to the aggressive way he addressed the 'modern syriacists', was a burden in the career of our scholar and occasioned him many problems with some scholars, throwing a general suspicion on his work, often without justification.

d) The Chronicle of Arbela or Mshiha-Zkha (1907)

The so-called 'Chronicle of Arbela' is one of the enigmas that Mingana buried with him in the tomb. I am not sure we can make full sense of it, but I will try to give as much information as possible, interpreting the facts we possess.

i) **A modern manuscript made old and its success**

In 1907, Mingana started the publication of a series he called 'Sources Syriaques', of which only one volume appeared, in two parts (271 + 204 pages) (52). The first part contains the so-called 'Chronicle of Arbela' that Mingana attributed to Mshiha-Zkha. He published the Syriac text with a French translation (p 1-168).

This text became very famous. On the 21 October 1907, that is to say immediately after the publication of the document by Mingana, the Preussische Staatsbibliothek of Berlin acquired the MS for 3500 French Francs (plus the expedition expenses), on the assumption that it was from the 10th century.

In fact, an expert examination done in the 1960s established that the MS was written in our century, and was deliberately made to look older by means of fire, wax etc. The copyist is even known: he was the priest Abraham Shakwana of Alqosh (52b), who told a friend how Dr Mingana taught him to make the MS 'older' by putting it in the oven and so on. Mingana was clever enough to let people think that the MS was from the tenth century, although he did not assert this clearly.

The text was translated into German in 1915 by Eduard Sachau (53), and into Latin in 1927 by Franz Zorell (54). The most famous orientalist and Church historians studied it, among them A Allgeier, Adolph von Harnack, Anton Baumstark, J B Umberg, H Dieckmann, Giuseppe Messina, Ignazio Ortiz de Urbina (55), Julius Assfalg (56), Nina Viktorovna Pigulevskaja, Arthur Vööbus, M L Chaumont, Wilhelm de Vries (57), Jean-Maurice Fiey (58). Recently, in 1985, Peter Kawerau reedited the text with a German translation (59).

ii) **Forgeries by Mingana?**

Once again the problem is that of the authenticity of the Syriac original.

The first to question the authenticity of this Chronicle, for historical reasons, was Paul Peeters SJ, a famous orientalist (60), in 1925. Since the publication of his article,

most orientalists have expressed their doubts regarding the authenticity of the text, although some (like Peter Kawerau) still consider it an important historical document (61).

Mingana's argument in attributing this work to Mshiha-Zkha (an unknown Syriac historian, mentioned 'en passant' by 'Abdishu of Nisibis in his 'Catalogue of Syriac Authors') lay in the fact that the title and the name of the author were written in the margin of one of the folios, in an old stranghelo writing. But Father Vosté OP revealed, in 1941, that these Syriac words were written by a monk from Alqosh at the request of Qass Alphonse (ie Mingana) (62). This marginal note ('Book of Ekklesiastike of Mshiha-Zkha') can be seen today on folio 27 verso of the Berlin manuscript, and has been reproduced twice by Julius Assfalg (63).

In 1967, Father Fiey OP revealed the name of the copyist: Thomas son of Hanna, of the Battota family from Karamlaiss, a Chaldean monk from Our Lady of the Seeds, easy to identify through his handwriting (64).

These two incidents in the life of Mingana, which remain partially unclear, prove that, for some unknown reason, he did not publish the Syriac texts faithfully. This fact is indirectly admitted by a great scholar and a friend of Mingana, his only Oriental friend, the Syrian Orthodox Patriarch Aphram I Barsaum. In the last page of his 'History of Syriac Literature', after having sharply criticised many Orientalists (65), he adds: 'Nevertheless, we have found some of them who were moderate, like Brooks, Haase (66), Sprengling (67), Graham (68), Mingana at the end of his life (69), and Gustave Bardy' (70).

At the end of his studies, Father Fiey, a well-known historian of the Syriac Oriental Church, concludes by saying that the real author of the Chronicle of Arbela is . . . Alphonse Mingana (71). My own opinion is that this conclusion may go too far.

It therefore appears that Qass Alphonse made two blunders. To my knowledge, he never repeated this kind of textual manipulation. But it was too late, and, as we will see, some Orientalists will never forgive him these youthful mistakes.

iii) **The Irritation of the Chaldean Patriarch**

One of the unexpected consequences of this publication by Mingana was the reaction of the Chaldean Patriarch. Before the book was published, he asked the Dominicans to stop publication.

Finally, he came to an agreement with Mingana, based on a compromise: the book could be sold in Europe, but in the East a sentence had to be omitted (72). It was probably the last sentence of note 1 of p 78, where Mingana said: 'Nous pensons que l'historicité d'Adda, abstraction faite des détails fabuleux dont les écrivains du Ve-VIe s. ont orné sa vie, ne peut plus être révoquée en doute (...). Par contre, l'existence du disciple Mari doit être considérée, jusqu'à nouvel ordre, de plus en plus problématique et même fabuleuse'. [Tr: We believe that the historicity of Adda, looking aside from the fabulous details with which the 5th and 6th century writers embellished his life, can no longer be called in question (...). On the other hand, the

existence of Mari the disciple must be considered, unless and until new evidence can be brought, increasingly problematic, and even fabulous.'](73).

Such an affirmation, current in western publications, was offensive to the successor of Mar Mari! Obviously, the omission of this sentence did not totally solve the problem, and the relationship between Qass Alphonse and the Patriarch remained tense.

e) End of Mingana's career in Mosul: The great rupture

Mingana published in 1908 two other Syriac texts: the story of the monastery of Sabrishu (102 pages) and Bar Penkayé (204 pages), both with a French translation (74).

Then something must have happened which has not yet been clarified. Mingana did not publish anything, not a single article, for five years and more. This is absolutely incomprehensible for a man who started so brilliantly and who had a lot of documents at his disposal (think of the 70 manuscripts he gathered, twenty of them on vellum!), and a good library at the Seminary.

I believe that the question of the note he wrote on the origin of the Chaldean Patriarch had much wider repercussions than is usually believed.

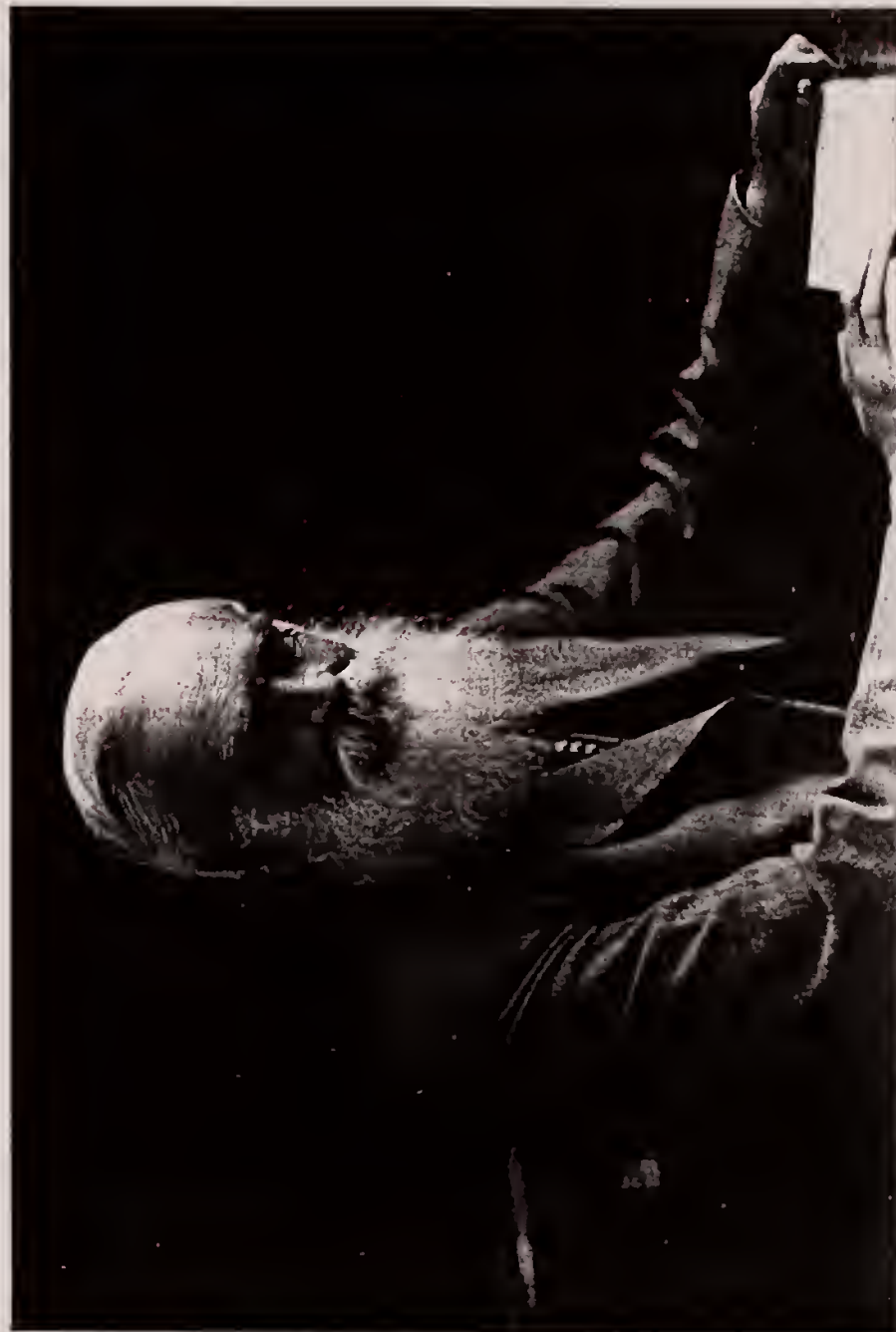
One of his disciples, the Chorepiscopus Joseph Tfinkdji, who was ordained in Mosul in 1907 (five years after Mingana), says that Mingana had 'de graves démêlés' [Tr: serious troubles] with the Chaldean Patriarch. The reason for these troubles, he said, was the book on Mshiha-Zkha in which Mingana attributed the origin of the Chaldean Patriarchate to Antioch. This dispute became so important that Mingana was obliged to leave the Seminary, and Qass Tfinkdji left with him (75). The patriarch was also angry with Bishop Addaï Scher who authorized the publication of the book (76).

One can assume the obstinacy of both protagonists, and the order given to Mingana to leave the Seminary.

This happened in 1910. Now, Mingana had no ability to preach, because of a speech defect, says Father Vosté (77). This fact is indirectly confirmed by his British biographers, who say: 'From 1916 to 1923 he was Special Lecturer in Arabic in the University of Manchester; but he found lecturing irksome and uncongenial, and his influence over younger scholars was more happily exercised in private discussion' (78).

Having therefore no inclination for preaching (and hence not being well adapted for parish work), at the same time having been dismissed from ecclesiastical teaching, Mingana passed through what was probably the most difficult stage of his life. It is likely that he was not supported by any of his friends. It could be also that he had no real personal friend.

This totally obscure period of his life lasts almost three years.



In the end, Qass Alphonse Mingana broke off relations with his Church, and left Mosul on 7 January 1913.

'He spent two months travelling in Persia and the Ottoman Empire, during which he was entertained at Mardin by an American Protestant missionary named Andrews, whose hospitality he never forgot' (79).

On 17 March 1913, Alphonse Mingana left the East, for ever. He was over 34. He was not intending to return. In fact, he did return for three visits in search of manuscripts, as we will show later.

He had one address in his pocket, given to him by a missionary friend, that of Rendel Harris in Birmingham. A new life was beginning for him, full of question marks.

2. WOODBROOKE (1913-1915)

a) Woodbrooke a haven of refuge (1913-1915)

Mingana arrived at Birmingham, probably at the end of March 1913, with the recommendation from Pastor Andrews (80) to Rendel Harris. He spent the first weeks in the house of Rendel Harris, and then moved to Woodbrooke, a Quaker study centre, founded in 1903, the earliest of the Selly Oak Colleges.

i) First Months In Britain

Woodbrooke was for him an ideal place: quiet and stimulating for his studies. He liked the grounds, and used to walk in them daily alone (81). Later on, in the 1930s, when he was in his house called "Manuscripta" in Selly Oak, neighbours saw him walking alone in his garden (82).

He stayed there for over two years, 'during the latter of which he taught Eastern languages: Arabic for missionaries and Hebrew for theological students' (83).

In July 1913, to be exact, on the seventh, he finished a long study of the Odes of Solomon (84). His knowledge of English being very slight, he wrote it in French and sent it to a German journal. The study was published in two issues, in 1914-1915, in 44 pages (85). Undoubtedly, this study is connected with the discovery made, on the 4 January 1909, by Rendel Harris of a recent (17th century) Syriac manuscript in his collection, now in the the John Rylands Library (Manchester) where it stands as Cod. Syr. 9. Within a few years, the Rendel Harris edition (86) had given rise to about a hundred studies (87). Mingana had access to this enormous literature.

He continued working on this important Syriac document on the origins of Christianity, and published a new edition of it, in collaboration with Rendel Harris. This was due to the discovery of new fragments of the 'Odes', especially the tenth-century parchment from the Dayr al-Suryan (Wadi al-Natrun, Egypt), kept in the British Library (then British Museum) under the number Add. 14538, which was identified in 1912 by Francis Crawford Burkitt (88). Two volumes appeared later when he was in Manchester (in 1916 and 1920) containing text, translation and notes (89). According to a handwritten note on a copy of volume 2 kept in Selly Oak Colleges Library, the book appeared on 27 May 1920 (90).

ii) Short Stay At Cambridge (1913)

Meanwhile, through the friendship of Rendel Harris, Mingana began to have some contacts with orientalists. Community of interests and studies won for him the friendship of two famous travellers and scholars, the twins Agnes Smith Lewis and Margaret Dunlop Gibson (91). Both knew Syriac and Arabic, and had published many volumes of recognized scholarly work. Being widows, they lived together in Cambridge.

In November 1913 they invited Mingana to their house. It was there 'that he discovered the significance of the text of some palimpsest Qur'ân leaves in Mrs Lewis's possession, which formed the subject of his first contribution to Islamic scholarship' (92).

Together, Mrs Lewis (93) and Mingana, published a booklet in 1914, entitled: 'Leaves from three ancient Qur'âns, possibly Pre-Othmânic' (94), which means that these leaves could be earlier than the collection of the Qur'ân which was made by the third Muslim Caliph, 'Uthmân, about 20 years after Muhammad's death (d 632) (95). The reaction of the Islamicists was not positive. As A W Price says, in his biography of the two sisters: 'Most subsequent Islamic scholars, however, have decided that the fragments are of a later date; and the Islamic world has consequently continued to spin upon its axis, as hitherto' (96).

This manuscript is actually kept in the Cambridge University Library under number *Oriental 1287*, and contains 94 folios on parchment, the upper text being the *Protevangelium Jacobi et Transitus Mariae* (97). The authors of Mingana's biography added this interesting remark: 'By an odd coincidence, amongst his latest acquisitions, though he did not live to identify it, was a stray leaf from the same manuscript' (98). Unfortunately, they do not give the reference to the manuscript, and I have been unable to identify it (99).

It is then that he wrote his review of Professor David Samuel Margoliouth's book entitled *The Early Development of Mohammedanism*. This review was published in *The Expository Times* in April 1914, and it is the first of a series of his articles published in this Journal (100). Mingana signed his article, in a rather ambiguous way: 'By Alphonse Mingana, DD, Cambridge'.

The relationship with Professor Margoliouth (101) was to become stronger, and a real friendship was to unite both orientalists. Marie Mingana remembers at least two visits of Margoliouth to their house in Manchester, and equally visits from her father to Margoliouth. She adds that about 1930 Margoliouth was willing to retire from Oxford on condition that his successor would be Mingana. But the latter could not accept, because his collection of manuscripts was already housed in Selly Oak, Birmingham (102).

The question of the collection of the Qur'ân was to preoccupy Mingana. In 1916 he wrote a suggestive article (103) setting out: first the views of Muslim writers on the way the Qur'ân was transmitted, and then the views of Christian writers, three Syriac and one Arab, namely: the Syrian Patriarch John I (or III) in 639, the Nestorian Patriarch Ishdoyahb III about 647, John Bar Penkayé about 690, and 'Abd al-Masih al-Kindi about 820.

III) Return To Woodbrooke

Back at Woodbrooke, he worked (probably encouraged by Rendel Harris) on the Syriac text of the Bible. He published first a series of five short articles in *The Expository Times* on the Syriac Gospels (104), then a small one on Judges 15: 8 (105), and again one on the Syriac Gospels (106).

He also wrote for *The Expositor* two longer studies on the Early Church: one dealing with Clement of Rome (1st century) (107), and the other on Christian Monasticism (108).

The hospitality he received at Woodbrooke, the openness of the Quaker group and the Quaker simplicity impressed him deeply. He remained warmly attached to this place throughout his life, 'choosing the name "Woodbrooke Studies" for the series in which he gave the world editions of some among the most important of the documents which he had brought to light' (109), and again the name "Woodbrooke Scientific Publications" for another series he started in 1935 with an edition of Job of Edessa's "Book of Treasures" (110).

As in all fables and in good old films, the stay at Woodbrooke had a happy ending, because it is there that Alphonse Mingana met Emma Sophie Floor of Stavanger, a Norwegian Lutheran lady, who had spent a year in France in Montbéliard, practising French in a Protestant college for girls, and was now pursuing some social studies and improving her English in Selly Oak.

In June 1914 they were engaged. Emma then went to Norway, to announce her plans to her family and intending to come back for the marriage. Meanwhile, German forces invaded Belgium on 3-4 August 1914, and Great Britain declared war against Germany on 4 August 1914. Emma could not come back to Britain till the next year when she came, accompanied by her older brother, and married Alphonse Mingana on 14 July 1915 (111).

They had two children, a son and a daughter, both born in Manchester (112), John on 5 April 1916 and Marie on 3 January 1918.

John married Mary Curtis, who was a music teacher. They have had four children, all alive (one of them in Canada, the others in Britain): Peter, Andrew, Janet and Iain. John died in an accident in June 1970. Later Mary married again.

Emma died in June 1974 in Birmingham.

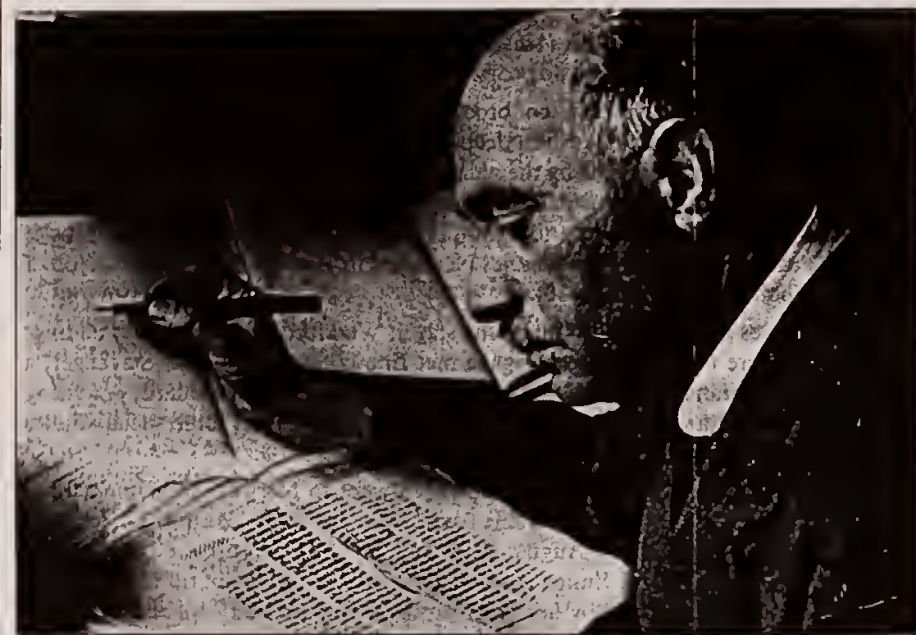
Marie worked for a long time in the British Council (113). She is a very lively person, with a warm and attractive personality.

b) Mingana's doctorate

At this point in our narrative, it is necessary to interrupt the course of the story, to clarify a point.

i) The story of the 'papal doctorate'

In all the biographies written in Britain we read that Mingana 'received a papal doctorate of divinity' (114). The same assertion is repeated by Macuch: 'Für seine Veröffentlichung "Narsai Homiliae et carmina" (...) erhielt er das päpstliche Doktorat der Theologie'. [Tr: 'For his publication "The Sermons and Songs of Narsai" he was granted a papal Doctorate of Theology.'] (115).



Mingana at work.



Dr and Mrs Mingana with Woodbrooke participants.

This is a pure fiction. Its origin could be, as Father Vosté has explained, what we find on the title-page of Narsai's edition: 'Cura et studio D Alphonsi Mingana'. This 'D' was perhaps interpreted as 'Doctor'. In fact, it is the usual Latin abbreviation in the Catholic universities for 'Dominus', which corresponds to 'Reverend' in other traditions. On the Syriac title-page, the author wrote: 'Qashshîshâ Alphonsos Mingana', which means clearly the priest Alphonse Mingana (116). In the same way, Mingana speaks, in his Latin preface, of 'D J Labourt' (117), the 'D' not being the initials of Jérôme Labourt, but his title as 'Revd'.

In connection with his work on Narsai, one can only mention the following fact: Oriental students used to send a copy of their books, in homage, to some important ecclesiastical person or institution. Even today, most Oriental priests send a copy of what they produce to the Oriental Congregation of Rome, or to some cardinals. So did Mingana, through Father Sébastien Scheil, OP, the one who revised his Syriac grammar. In a letter of the latter to Mgr Drure, Apostolic Delegate in Iraq, dated 9 May 1906, Father Scheil says: 'J'ai prié aussi le P Gaufroy d'envoyer un Narsés et une Grammaire syriaque de Cas Alphonse à la Sacrée Congrégation (ie de la Propagande)'. [Tr: 'I also asked Fr Gaufroy to send a Narsai and a Syriac Grammar by Qass Alphonse to the Sacred Congregation (ie to the Propaganda Fide)']. Later on, he received the usual letter of congratulations from the Sacred Congregation (118). That is all. It does not amount to any academic recognition.

ii) When did Mingana start using the title of 'Doctor'?

In all his publications written in Iraq, Mingana never used this title. He does not use any title in the two articles on the 'Odes of Solomon' published in French in the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums* (119). Nor in his articles on the 'Devil-worshippers' (120), or on the Syriac versions of the Old Testament' (121), or on 'the transmission of the Kur'ân' (122), all published in 1916, though probably they were already submitted in 1914.

The first time that the title 'Doctor' appears is in his article published in *The Expository Times* in April 1914: 'The Early Development of Mohammedanism', by Alphonse Mingana, DD, Cambridge (123). The next year, two articles appeared in *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* with the title: 'by the Revd A Mingana, DD' (124). He soon abandoned the title 'Revd', for obvious reasons. But from then on, he always signed his publications with the 'DD'.

Finally, I have found one article signed: 'by Professor A Mingana', in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, in 1922 (125).

iii) Explanation of this fact

Psychologically, one can understand what happened to our scholar.

In the Orient, Mingana was known and appreciated as a learned man. He was probably called 'Malpânâ' (Doctor), as is the custom with such learned people. Nobody could deny his great knowledge of Syriac language and literature, and his

capacity for languages. Moreover, his edition (with introduction and notes) of the Narsai homilies could certainly have been a good dissertation for obtaining a doctorate in divinity, if it had been presented in a recognized Faculty of Theology. Unfortunately, he was studying in a seminary which was not allowed to confer any degrees.

Yet on coming to Britain in 1913 he was confronted with a new reality: namely, that in this country one had to have a title, that one's value was estimated according to external qualifications. In this context, Mingana needed to be considered a 'Doctor'. Personally, I consider he was really 'Doctor', even if no university ever granted him this title, but this could not be the opinion of officialdom. Mingana was then 35 years old, too late to start writing a PhD.

Furthermore, a 'papal doctorate of divinity', as his biographers say, added something 'piquant' to this rather odd scholar, who had left the Catholic Church to live in a Protestant milieu. We have to remember that it was at the beginning of this century, and that ecumenical relationships were almost unknown!

Mingana probably did not say that he had a doctorate, but he did not deny the fact when it was attributed to him. He even put it on his passport, and this fact provoked an entertaining anecdote in one of his journeys (probably the second journey done in 1925). I quote the story from an unpublished talk given by Mingana on the 1 March 1934 at the 'Cambridge Theological Society':

'We began our journey, and reached a small village which separated the new frontiers of Syria and Iraq. My passport had to be stamped there, and I went to the Arab official, who had near him a little urchin who could read Roman characters. Our kindly officials at the Foreign Office had written, on the first page of my passport: "Dr A Mingana". On hearing the word "Dr", he asked me to take a little rest, as I was tired, in a room near by.

'About an hour later, he told me that my passport was ready, and to my astonishment, when I went out to continue my journey, I found myself surrounded by people affected by almost all the diseases under the sun! Some were cripples, others had head-ache, ear-ache, stomach-ache etc. They began to shout: "Doctor! Doctor! for the sake of God!". It was no use explaining to them that I was not a Doctor of Medicine, and so I had to empty for them almost all my small medicine chest, composed mostly of quinine and kindred medicines' (126).

Nevertheless, we must recognize that, in the autobiography Mingana drafted, and which was published in *Who Was Who?* in 1941, four years after his death, he did not mention any doctorate. The entry reads: 'Theologian and orientalist; Hon. Professor of Oriental Languages and Islamics in the Selly Oak Colleges; Curator of the Mingana Collection of MSS.; MAOS (Member of the African and Oriental Society); MRAS (Member of the Royal Asiatic Society); President of the Manchester Oriental Society, 1932'. Mingana did not indicate 'DD', or any similar title (127).

3. MINGANA IN MANCHESTER (1915-1932)

Mingana spent 17 years in Manchester, the longest period he ever stayed in one place. It is there that his two children, John and Marie, were born. It is there that he wrote the major part of his books, and from there that he made his three expeditions in the Middle East in search of manuscripts.

a) Before the journeys to the Middle East (1915-1924)

In July 1915, Mingana 'was appointed to the staff of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, to catalogue its rich collection of Arabic manuscripts, of which the nucleus is that formed by the 25th and 26th Earls of Crawford, and bought by Mrs Rylands in 1901. He remained there till 1932, having latterly the title of Keeper of the Oriental manuscripts' (128). He insisted on bringing in his friend Rendel Harris (129), who was appointed keeper of the oriental collection of the John Rylands Library in 1918, at the age of 66.

Mingana started working actively on these manuscripts as soon as he came. In the year of his arrival (1915), he published two important articles in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*: 'An important old Turki manuscript in the John Rylands Library', which was reprinted in *The Muslim World* (130), and 'Notes upon some of the Kur'anic manuscripts in the John Rylands Library' (131). The year after, he published an article on some sayings attributed to Christ in Muhyi ad-Din Ibn 'Arabi, found in the Cod. Arab. 399 of the same Library (132), and so on. Every year brought some new contribution selected from manuscripts of the John Rylands Library.

'From 1916 to 1923, he was "Special Lecturer" in Arabic in the University of Manchester' (133). But, as we have seen before, he did not like lecturing.

Meanwhile, the war was growing in intensity, and the British Army felt the need for some linguistic tools for military personnel serving in the Middle East. Mingana was asked to write a basic Vocabulary, and the book appeared in 1917 in seven columns, with English words and their translation into 6 Oriental languages: Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Armenian, Kurdish and Syriac, all except the Armenian compiled by him, on behalf of the Admiralty and the War Office (134).

He was also 'acting as censor for the letters of Assyrian refugees (...) He also helped to inform public opinion by numerous articles in the *Manchester Guardian* on political and social conditions in the Near and Middle East' (135). Other articles such as that entitled "Baghdad and After" (136), reflected the Middle East situation.

In 1920 he obtained British citizenship. As his biographers say: 'He became one of the most loyal of Englishmen, though he remained one of the least typical. His use of English became fluent and expressive, but never lost a colour and a vivacity rare amongst us. And he would boast, with a complete freedom from its restraints, of our phlegmatic national character' (137).

b) The Letter of Philoxenus to Abû 'Afr

In 1925 Mingana published (138) a document concerning the conversion of a Turkish tribe in the time of the East Syrian Patriarch Acacius (485-495/6), a text which he found in the second part of a letter attributed to Philoxenus of Mabbug, and addressed to Abû 'Afr' (139), the governor of Hîrat an-Nu'mân. The edition was based on a unique manuscript, the *Rylands Syr. 59*, copied by the well-known deacon and zealous scribe Mattai bar Paulos bar Na'matallâh of Mosul (140), and completed on 29 January 1909.

In 1928, Paul Peeters attacked the historicity of the document in a short article (141). He wrote: 'Le jacobite du IXe siècle parle comme s'il avait lu les ouvrages de Bethune Baker et de J Lebon'. [Tr: 'The 9th century Jacobite is made to speak as if he had read the works of Bethune Baker and of J Lebon.'] Mingana answered in a short note (142) that he had found a new manuscript, the actual *Mingana Syr. 71* from about 1600. Peeters was rather unimpressed by this argument, and he reprinted his article in 1951, with few additions (143).

In 1961 Father Fiey OP published his article on Mingana and the 'Chronicle of Arbela', in which he suggested that this second manuscript never existed (144). In fact, I have been able to check the manuscript in the Mingana collection, and find that all the information given by Mingana was correct. Furthermore, on comparing this manuscript with some of those transcribed by the *shammas* Mattai (namely *Mingana Syr. 368, 612 and 613*), I became certain that the writing was totally different.

The last answer is given by Sebastian Brock of Oxford University, who compared the two Syriac manuscripts: *Rylands-Syr. 59* (of Manchester) and *Mingana Syr. 71* (of Birmingham), noting all the variant readings (145). This comparison shows that the *Vorlage* of both manuscripts 'cannot postdate the thirteenth century, for Denha I (+ 1281) was the last patriarch resident at Baghdad until 1830' (146).

So, once again, Mingana was right, but was accused of forgery and manipulation. Which shows how long, unfortunately, his early mistakes (in 1905-1909) continued to influence the minds of some orientalist.

c) The Catalogue of the John Rylands Library

Mingana was still preparing the catalogue of the John Rylands Library. But a good catalogue of manuscripts can be a lifetime's work. In fact, he published the catalogue of this collection only in 1934, after 19 years of work (147).

Such a catalogue requires a kind of universal knowledge of Arabic and Islamic studies, and possibly Christian and Jewish Arabic studies. It also requires good experience in palaeography and codicology, to make accurate dating of the manuscripts possible.

On this point, I must say that Mingana was really a master. His datings of the manuscripts are infinitely more precise than those of any other cataloguer. When I read these evaluations before coming here, I first thought: "It's a joke! How could he say 'about 970' for instance?". But I discovered, by working on the Mingana Collection preserved in Selly Oak, that he had a flair for evaluating them which was simply marvellous.

This skill increased as a result of the three expeditions he made in the Middle East, as we shall now see, because he had to evaluate the age of a manuscript in order to guess at the right price for it.

4. AT MANCHESTER: TWO MAJOR ISLAMIC-CHRISTIAN APOLOGIES

Mingana had always had a gift for discovering manuscripts and choosing the most important of them. Having at his disposal at Manchester (and in his own Collection) hundreds, even thousands of documents, mostly unedited, he concentrated on the most important ones. Concerning Islam, he published during the years 1922-1928 two major Islamic-Christian apologies, which have to be counted among the few very important documents in this field, one of them in Arabic, the other in Syriac.

a) Tabari's defence of Islam (1920-1930)

The story of this publication is a sad one in the history of scholarship. Mingana's publication provoked unexpected attacks, not only academic. Undoubtedly emotions contributed much to make this publication controversial.

i) The Publication of Tabari's Defence of Islam

'In cataloguing the Oriental MSS of the John Rylands Library, I came across an unknown and semi-official defence of Islam. The MS containing it is in some places in a bad state of preservation, but (...) the text has been read and translated, and it is hoped that the book, accompanied by a critical apparatus, will shortly be published by the Governors of the Library at the Manchester University Press' (148). In fact, the book was published in two volumes, Arabic and English, in 1922-1923, under the title "Book of Religion and Empire" (*Kitab al-Din wa-l-Dawlah*) (149).

The manuscript is the Crawford 631 (Nr 69 of Mingana's Catalogue), copied in Baghdad in 616/1219.

This document was written by a famous Christian physician, 'Ali Ibn Rabbân al-Tabari, the author of "Paradise of Wisdom" (*Firdaws al-Hikmah*), who was a personal friend and table-companion (*nadim*) of Caliph al-Mutawakkil (847-861). At the end of his life, being over 70 (this detail was unknown to Mingana, and was to be discovered later on after the edition of the "Refutation of Christians"), he converted to Islam at the request of the Caliph. To prove the seriousness of his conversion, he wrote an Apology for Islam. It is the 'earliest collection on a large scale of passages in the two Testaments, supposed to foretell the mission of the prophet Mohammed. This Apology, for which the author used the Syriac Bible, can be shown to be the source of later works which have the same object' (150).

ii) The critique of Peeters and Bouyges

This document, of supreme importance in Muslim-Christian apologetics, provoked intense debate. In general, the publication was well received in academic circles.

Unfortunately, one of the reviewers, Father Paul Peeters SJ, reacted to it very critically, and suspected the authenticity of the document. He concluded his review with these words: 'Si ces témoignages ont la date qu'on leur suppose, ils mériteraient d'être pris en sérieuse considération. Mais il serait imprudent de les recevoir avant un supplément d'enquête. Provisoirement, la place du *Kitab ad-din wad-daula* est parmi les supercheries littéraires'. [Tr: 'If those witnesses are of the date supposed they would deserve serious attention. But it would be unwise to accept them without further research. For the moment the *Kitab ad-din wad-daula* is to be counted among the hoaxes of literature.'] (151). It was an unjust accusation. But this was only a review, and no Islamicists read the *Analecta Bollandiana* where it appeared.

A few months later, another famous Jesuit orientalist, Father Maurice Bouyges (152), famous editor of the much appreciated series "Bibliotheca Arabicarum Scholasticarum", published in Beirut two open letters to the editor entitled: 'Is the Book of Religion and Empire authentic?'. He used this very severe accusation: 'Bien que votre manuscrit Crawford 531 porte la date 616 H (= 1219), je me crois autorisé à penser que l'apologie musulmane anti-chrétienne qu'il contient a été écrite par un Pseudo-Tabari moderne, au XXème siècle'. [Tr: 'Although your manuscript Crawford 531 is dated 616H (= 1219), I cannot but consider that the Muslim anti-Christian apology which it contains has been written by a modern Pseudo-Tabari, in the 20th century.'] (153). In other words, the document was a forgery fabricated at Manchester!

The same Bouyges discovered some years later, in Istanbul, the only known manuscript of the "Refutation of the Christians" written by 'Ali al-Tabari, and he did not question the authenticity of this attribution (154). But as far as the *Kitab al-Din wa-l-Dawlah* is concerned, he does not seem to have changed his opinion.

Finally, a year before his death, being at that time 72, Bouyges published a long article on 'Ali al-Tabari, without modifying his position to any great extent (155).

Nevertheless, from the material presented, one could question whether the author of the "Book of Religion and Empire" is 'Ali al-Tabari or some other Muslim who intended to complement the "Refutation of Christians" (156).

iii) The mistake of Peeters and Bouyges

In fact, both Peeters and Bouyges were wrong. The document is authentic, and the manuscript is from the thirteenth century. Henry Guppy, Director of the John Rylands Library, replied to Bouyges in an article of the *Bulletin*, entitled: 'The genuineness of Al-Tabari's Arabic "Apology"' (157). In the same year, on 21 May 1930, another famous orientalist, David Samuel Margoliouth, defended the work of his friend Mingana in a speech given at the British Academy (158).

The incomprehensible attitude of Peeters and Bouyges, both great scholars (159), can only be understood if we remember two facts. First, that Mingana had manipulated the text of the "Chronicle of Bar Hadbeshabba", as Chabot had established (160). Secondly, that Peeters was at that time discovering that the so-called "Chronicle of Arbela" too was a forgery of Mingana. He established that point

in the next volume of the *Analecta Bollandiana*, as we have already seen (161). So he was predisposed to believe that Mingana was fabricating some of the texts he was publishing, as we have already said (162). As for Bouyges, he was probably influenced by the authoritative opinion of P Peeters.

iv) The revenge of History

History is sometimes ironic.

Some years later, two other Jesuits of Beirut, Father Ignace-'Abdo Khalifé (now Maronite Bishop of Sydney) and Wilhelm Kutsch published another important text of 'Ali Ibn Rabban al-Tabari, his "Refutation of the Christians" (*al-Radd 'ala l-Nasara*), discovered a few years before by Bouyges. This new book confirms the authenticity of the previous work, and is quoted by the "Book of Religion and Empire". The two editors published it in the same Journal in which Father Bouyges, some thirty years earlier, had denied its authenticity, but they maintained the position of Bouyges (163).

The only manuscript of this 'Refutation' being incomplete, it was my pleasure to discover an "Answer to the Refutation of the Christians of 'Ali al-Tabari" written by the Coptic apologist al-Safi Ibn al-'Assal, an answer which give us a more complete version of the Refutation. I published the first part of it some years ago in Beirut (164), and have prepared the critical edition of the whole text.

b) The apology of Timothy I (1928)

I mentioned earlier (165) that Mingana started in 1927 a series of books called "Woodbrooke Studies", and we shall examine this series in a moment (166). Volume two of this series, published in 1928, contains a very important text in Syriac: Timothy's Apology for Christianity, in the presence of the Caliph al-Mahdi.

This Apology is unanimously considered to be authentic, the discussion having taken place in Baghdad in 781. Timothy is one of the greatest East Syriac Patriarchs (from 780 to 823), and al-Mahdi is known for his openness to religious subjects. The discussion obviously took place in Arabic, but the report written by the Patriarch himself (in a letter to the monk Sergius) was in Syriac. Later on, we find two different Arabic reports, probably based on the Syriac one. The longer Arabic report had already been published by Fr Louis Cheikho SJ in 1921 in Beirut (167), and I published it again in 1977 (168). Some years ago, Fr Robert Caspar WF published a shorter report in the form of Questions and Answers (169), which is older than the longer version published by Cheikho and myself. To my knowledge, this debate-apology is the most complete and interesting apology for Christianity ever to have been documented in the Arab world.

Timothy is very clever and very respectful of the Islamic faith. Like most Arab apologists, he knows the Qur'an and the Muslim faith quite well, and he understands the sensibilities of Muslims. Some of the pages he wrote are constantly used by Christians (and even by Muslims) in today's dialogue, if not always in the way he intended.

I will read just one page of this dialogue, the one concerning Muhammad (170):

And our gracious and wise King said to me: "What do you say about Muhammad?" – And I replied to his Majesty:

"Muhammad is worthy of all praise, by all reasonable people, O my Sovereign. He walked in the path of the prophets, and trod in the track of the lovers of God. All prophets taught the doctrine of one God, and since Muhammad taught the doctrine of the unity of God, he walked, therefore, in the path of the prophets. Further, all the prophets drove men away from bad works, and brought them nearer to good works, and since Muhammad drove his people away from bad works and brought them nearer to good ones, he walked, therefore, in the path of the prophets. Again, all the prophets separated men from idolatry and polytheism, and attached them to God and to His cult, and since Muhammad separated his people from idolatry and polytheism, and attached them to the cult and the knowledge of one God, beside whom there is no other God, it is obvious that he walked in the path of the prophets. Finally Muhammad taught about God, His Word and His Spirit, and since all the prophets had prophesied about God, His Word and His Spirit, Muhammad walked, therefore, in the path of all prophets.

"Who will not praise, honour and exalt the one who not only fought for God in words, but showed also his zeal for Him in the sword? As Moses did with the Children of Israel when he saw that they had fashioned a golden calf which they worshipped, and killed all of those who were worshipping it, so also Muhammad evinced an ardent zeal towards God, and loved and honoured Him more than his own soul, his people and his relatives. He praised, honoured and exalted those who worshipped God with him, and promised them kingdom, praise and honour from God, both in this world and in the world to come in the Garden.* But those who worshipped idols and not God he fought and opposed, and showed to them the torments of hell and of the fire which is never quenched and in which all evildoers burn eternally.

* The Paradise of the Kur'an.

"And what Abraham, that friend and beloved of God, did in turning his face from idols and from his kinsmen, and looking only towards one God and becoming the preacher of one God to other peoples, this also Muhammad did. He turned his face from idols and their worshippers, whether those idols were those of his own kinsmen or of strangers, and he honoured and worshipped only one God. (...). Who will not praise, O our victorious King, the one whom God has praised, and will not weave a crown of glory and majesty to the one whom God has glorified and exalted? These and similar things I and all God-lovers utter about Muhammad, O my Sovereign."

And our King said to me: "You should, therefore, accept the words of the Prophet." – And I replied to his gracious Majesty: "Which words of his our victorious King believes that I must accept?" – And our King said to me: "That God is one and that there is no other one besides Him." – And I replied: "This belief in one God, O my Sovereign, I have learned from the Torah, from the Prophets and from the Gospel. I stand by it and shall die in it."

Timothy means: this is not a peculiarity of Islam. It is common to all monotheists: Jews, Christians and Muslims. His position is very balanced: Muhammad 'walked in the path of the prophets', but he never said that he was a prophet. For reasons he explains elsewhere in this dialogue, he cannot recognise Muhammad as a prophet.

5. THE MINGANA COLLECTION OF MSS AND ITS CONSEQUENCES FOR SELLY OAK COLLEGES

If we undertook a sociological enquiry among orientalist, I imagine that the "Mingana Collection" of manuscripts would be far more widely known than the "Selly Oak Colleges". How was this Collection constituted, and what is the relationship between the Collection and the Colleges?

a) Collecting manuscripts in the Middle East (1924-1929)

'In 1924 began the remarkable alliance of Mingana's unique combination of talents (his scholarship, his ability as a linguist, his knowledge of the East, and his flair for collecting) with the munificence and understanding patronage of Dr Edward Cadbury, Chairman of the Central Council of the Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham' (171).

Mingana undertook, at Dr Cadbury's expense, three expeditions in search of manuscripts.

The first was in the spring of 1924, mainly to the Mosul district. He travelled from Beirut to Aleppo, Mosul, Sulaimania and Hamadan. He bought for the John Rylands Library 22 Arabic and some Syriac manuscripts; and for Dr Cadbury a few Syriac manuscripts, which formed the nucleus of the Mingana Collection.

The second was in the autumn of 1925, mainly in Kurdistan and Upper Mesopotamia. He travelled through Damascus, Baghdad, Kermanshah, Mosul, and south Kurdistan. He bought a considerable number of Syriac manuscripts for Dr Cadbury, and some Arabic manuscripts.

The third expedition was in 1929, mainly in Egypt. He visited the Sinai Peninsula, bringing back a precious collection of Arabic parchments; and Upper Egypt as far as the Third Cataract, acquiring a lot of Arabic Islamic manuscripts, and some others (Coptic, Greek, etc).

The value of this collection is enormous. The Syriac section, with its 662 manuscripts, rates third in the West, after the British Library and the Vatican Library. The Christian Arabic section is surpassed in the West only by the Vatican Library and the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. The Islamic Arabic section is large and noteworthy.

Many of these manuscripts are unique copies of hitherto unknown texts. Some of them are autographs (written by the authors themselves, and therefore surer than any other copy), like the *Khitat of Maqrizi*. Other manuscripts are the earliest known copies of a text, like Tirmidhi's Traditions. In the Christian Arabic collection, the parchments from the 8th to the 10th centuries are only surpassed by those of the Saint Catherine's Library of Sinai.

b) A safe building and a curator for the manuscripts (1924-1926)

i) Creation of the "Mingana Collection" (1924)

After the first expedition (1924), the Woodbrooke Council, meeting on the 14 November 1924, wrote this acknowledgement:

'We have received the offer of a splendid collection of Syriac and other MSS, which will hereafter be known as the "Mingana Collection".

'We wish to record our heartiest thanks to the friends responsible for this magnificent gift (172), the discoveries of an old Woodbrooke student (173) to whose learning and courage the world of scholarship is indebted' (174).

In October 1924, George Cadbury Jr (brother of Edward Cadbury) bought Rokesley House (the present Gillett Centre), and made financial arrangements for it to be used for a Central Library, with offices and classrooms. This first Central Library was opened on 9 October 1925, by Sir Frederick Kenyon, director and principal librarian of the British Museum, in the presence of more than 400 people. But they did not use it to house the Mingana Collection.

ii) A curator for the new collection (1926)

After Mingana's second expedition, and considering the great amount of manuscripts gathered by him for the Woodbrooke Settlement, the question of where to house them was raised by Rendel Harris, in a letter to Francis Sturge, the warden of Woodbrooke, dated 2 February 1926:

'My dear Friend, Francis Sturge,

'I shall be glad if the following considerations can be laid before the Woodbrooke Trustees at their next meeting, with reference to the impending extension of the Woodbrooke Library.

'It is known to a few, but by no means to all of those who have the care of Woodbrooke affairs, that there has recently been a great acquisition of MSS in Mesopotamia by our friend Dr Mingana; and that it is the intention of our friends Edward Cadbury and Dorothy Cadbury, with whom Dr Mingana has been co-operating, to present the results of this second expedition of Dr Mingana to the Woodbrooke Settlement, attaching them to the books which were accumulated on a former visit.

'The MSS in question comprise over 400 Syriac MSS and a few Arabic MSS. We must not speak very loud about Mingana's success; but it may be whispered among ourselves without detriment to a quest which is not yet completed, that we have already more Syriac MSS than any Library in the world, except the British Museum; twice as many as the National Library at Paris, and as many as the combined universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

'We shall thus be raised at a stroke from a local and provincial position amongst scholars to a national, and even an international, rank. No such accretion to the material for Oriental scholarship has been made, since the British Government succeeded in raiding (*sic!*) the Nitrian Monasteries.

'It is evident that we cannot make a right use of this splendid discovery of Mingana and gift of Edward Cadbury, without a thorough reconsideration of the position of the Woodbrooke Library, and the responsibility attached to the ownership of such unexpected, and more than unexpected, treasures.

'I have therefore ventured to offer to the consideration of our Trustees some points which arise out of the aforesaid endowment.

'First of all, it will be obvious that (...) the collection and its subsequent accretions are not to be broken up or dispersed.

'Next, it is important that, if the books are deposited for safe keeping in the Rendel Harris Library (as is at present the case), an adequate legal instrument should be drawn up, affirming the Woodbrooke ownership, and securing right of removal at any time. (...)

'We come in the next place to the question of administration. The MSS and antiquities which are transferred to Woodbrooke should be altogether under the supervision, direction and care of the Woodbrooke Council, to whom the Trustees should recommend a person of sufficient learning and reputation to act as Curator of the Woodbrooke MSS. (...) It is understood that Dr Mingana will be the first Curator, and that the Trustees will have a scheme before them for the financial support of the Curator, as well as for the binding etc of the books, and the publication of a series of Woodbrooke Studies (175), more or less closely connected with the Library. In these latter tasks, I should be glad to be recognised, if it be practicable, as an assistant and supernumerary to Dr Mingana.

'Last of all (...), special care will have to be taken for the protection, as well as the preservation, of the MSS. Caution will be required in the access of outsiders to the Treasury in which the MSS are placed, and in the granting of leave to those persons who may wish to study particular MSS when the Curator has catalogued them.

'It will, of course, be possible to arrange for the occasional exhibition of selected MSS in a suitable show-case.

'It would be improper for me to conclude these remarks (...) without an expression of extreme thankfulness, for the help which we have found, both earthly and heavenly, in the arduous quest which is now coming to such a splendid conclusion. Dr Mingana will be the first to recite, along with those who have had the privilege of co-operating with him, the words of the Psalm: 'Non nobis, Domine, sed tibi gloria' (176).

I have quoted large extracts from this letter because of its importance. In it, we find the germ of the idea of what would become the Central Library of Selly Oak Colleges.

iii) 'We should make Mingana feel happy amongst us'

The next day, Edward Cadbury wrote to Rendel Harris a letter, from which I select some passages:

'With regard to Mingana's post as curator, I think it might be best to bring up the matter at the Settlement committee, which meets on Thursday 11 February, of which I believe thou art a member. (...)

'I am extremely anxious we should make Mingana feel happy and comfortable amongst us, and as thou knowest I am doing my best in regard to this. At the same time, I have to be very careful not to cause any friction among our friends in the other Colleges. I know thou takest a great interest in these Colleges, being a good deal instrumental to some extent in starting Kingsmead and Carey Hall, and I believe thou wast first Chairman of the Committee at Fircroft. They are all doing good work, and while I think we are quite clear what we want, and we are all agreed as to the end we have in view, we must (in our statement to the other Colleges) endeavour to put it in such a way that they will not feel we have any lack of confidence in them. Thine sincerely' (177).

c) The new Central Library (1926-1932)

i) The project of building a new Central Library

Two days later, 5 February, J W Hoyland of Kingsmead wrote to Edward Cadbury:

'(...) The immediate difficulty we have to face is how to combine the interests of the Woodbrooke Trustees with those of the Selly Oak Colleges Trustees. (...) It almost looks as though a separate strong room would be necessary if the other part of the Library is likely to have treasures which will need such protection. It will never do to give anyone but Rendel and Mingana access to this new collection' (178).

On 8 February, George Cadbury Jr (the brother of Edward Cadbury) wrote to Francis Sturge:

'(...) It seems to me that the possession of such a valuable collection at once raises the question of their proper custody and final disposal. These Manuscripts might (I think) be regarded as a National possession, and both the constitution and the functions of the Woodbrooke Trustees hardly seem to me to be wide enough for this purpose.

'I think, therefore, that they should consider the formation of a proper Trust, in the first place to have the custody of these Manuscripts and their future care and use, and that such a Trust should include, among others, representatives of the Woodbrooke Trustees, of the Selly Oak Colleges, the donors, the Birmingham University, and possibly a representative of either Oxford or Cambridge. I think we should contemplate for their more permanent safeguarding by connecting the Trust with some such public bodies as the Universities.

'It will be necessary also to approach the Selly Oak Colleges Trust to ask them also to give the books they own at the Rendel Harris Library to the New Library Trust, so that the whole of the present Library may be kept intact.

'(...) Undoubtedly, the time will soon arrive when a special building will have to be built to house these Manuscripts, and I should hope the Rendel Harris Library as well. I shall be very glad if part of the land purchased 18 months ago, in connection with Rokesley, could be made available for the site of such a Library. The Deeds have not yet been finally settled with the BVT (= Bournville Village Trust), and now would appear to be a favourable opportunity for the proper layout of the whole site. (...)

'It has seemed to me for some time that if any further building should take place, it will be more appropriate to build a new library, and release the present library for class rooms, rather than building new class rooms, for the use of the Central Colleges' (179).

This remark of George Cadbury Jr is very interesting. The Central Library had just been opened on 9 October 1925, as we have seen (ie less than 4 months before this letter), and he is already thinking of the necessity of a new and more appropriate building.

ii) The new Central Library

It is amazing how rapidly things were developing. In less than a week, the whole project was elaborated: a new Library had to be built, to house the Rendel Harris Library and above all the Mingana collection of manuscripts.

The project could take some time to be concretely realised. Mingana's third expedition, in 1929, increased the number of manuscripts and made more urgent the construction of a new building.

On 19 June 1931, Edward Cadbury wrote a note to Francis Sturge:

'With regard to the discussion on the Woodbrooke Library, I want the Trustees to have it on record that I desire the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts, for which I am building accommodation at the Central Library, to be kept in that Library and not removed to Woodbrooke' (180).

On 25 April 1932, the Central Library was inaugurated by Edward and Dorothy Cadbury, "ad maiorem Dei gloriam" as the plaque in the entrance of the Library says. Mrs Dorothy Cadbury pronounced these words:

'Benedictus benedicat. My husband and I have much pleasure in giving this building to the Selly Oak Colleges. It is our earnest hope for all who use this Library, a fuller knowledge may be acquired, and with it a deeper reverence' (181).

If we enjoy the Central Library today, it is certainly due to the generosity and intelligence of the Cadburys, but it is also due to a certain Alphonse Mingana who collected over 2000 oriental manuscripts!

6. BACK TO WOODBROOKE (1932-1937)

Now that the new Library was built and that the Mingana Collection was in security, Mingana had to come back to Woodbrooke to be curator of his own collection. The cataloguing of the oriental manuscripts of the John Rylands Library was finished, and the large volume was given to the printer. Mingana was free. He bought a house in Kings Norton, Birmingham, at 168 Middleton Hall Road.

a) Cataloguing his Collection

He came back in 1932 and immediately began cataloguing his collection. In 1933 the first volume appeared, with a description of 606 Syriac and Garshûni manuscripts: all together 1256 columns in-quarto. In 1936 the second volume appeared, with 120 Christian Arabic manuscripts and 16 additional Syriac manuscripts. Finally in 1939 (after his death), volume 3 appeared, with the description of 152 Christian Arabic manuscripts (mainly fragments, often on parchment bought in Sinai) and 40 additional Syriac manuscripts. For Christian Oriental studies these three volumes are of the highest importance.

Mingana 'has regarded the description of the materials which he had amassed as sufficient occupation for a lifetime: into a career which terminated in middle life, he had crowded work which might well have occupied several lifetimes of longer duration' (182).

b) "Woodbrooke Studies" and "Woodbrooke Scientific Publications"

On 2 February 1926, Rendel Harris had suggested the creation of a series called "Woodbrooke Studies". Mingana, while in Manchester, brought this project to fruition, thanks to the generosity of Edward Cadbury. In 1927, he gathered five studies just published in the Bulletin of the John Rylands Library and circulated them in one volume of about 300 pages, entitled: "Woodbrooke Studies. Christian documents in Syriac, Arabic, and Garshûni, edited and translated". Between 1929 and 1934 six more volumes of documents were published.

The next year, following the same method, he published volume 2 with three documents, totalling 336 pages, the first of these documents being the very important text of "Timothy's Apology". In 1931 volumes 3 and 4 appeared in the same format. Volume 5 appeared in 1932, volume 6 in 1933 and volume 7 in 1934. For some reason, Mingana decided to stop this collection here.

The next year, in 1935, he started a new series entitled: "Woodbrooke Scientific Publications", with a large volume of 518 pages: "Book of Treasures" by Job of Edessa, which is a Syriac Encyclopaedia of philosophical and natural sciences as taught in Baghdad about AD 817. It is a very important publication, in a new area, which deserves more study.

c) Death and a friend's testimony

By now, Mingana was much too busy with the catalogue of his collection to pursue this new series. He finished the third and last volume of the Christian manuscripts of the Mingana Collection, but did not see it printed. He died on 5 December 1937. He was almost 59.

Mingana had a passion for manuscripts. G Woledge who was a friend of his and an admirer, said in conclusion to his Obituary:

'These qualities (of Mingana) were reinforced by an unquenchable ardour for his subject and a schoolboyish zeal for collecting – enthusiasms which led him to name his house 'Manuscripta', and which might have made him seem ridiculous, but for his patent sincerity. He had none of the vanity which leads most of us to conceal our vanity, and he shared his triumphs joyously and generously with his friends. His single-minded devotion to his work excluded any other sustained occupation or hobby; but it could not check the warmth of his interest in the humbler affairs of his friends' (183).

7. CONCLUSIONS

If we survey the life and work of Mingana, we can make some useful deductions.

a) Mosul as an ecclesiastical milieu at the beginning of the century

The education Mingana received in the Mosul Seminary was not so bad. There he prepared himself for the whole of life, at the scientific level with a very good knowledge of many languages (Oriental and Western), a good knowledge of Church History, Christian doctrine and Islam. Above all, he acquired an enormous interest (a love, we could say) for his Syriac tradition and language, probably thanks to his teacher Qass Awgin Manna. Finally, he acquired a scientific discipline and a good methodology, which would allow him to enter into the world of orientalists without too much difficulty.

One should appreciate the scientific openness of the Seminary. His teachers encouraged him to study and publish (a very first publication for a young Catholic priest) the works of a well-known Nestorian theologian, Narsai of Nisibis. The Dominican Fathers, responsible for the Seminary and for the Press, supported him constantly in his scientific enterprise.

However, he would not meet the same openness in his own Chaldean Church. The Patriarch was upset by the way Mingana contested the historicity of the foundation of the patriarchal See by Mari the Apostle. This was for the patriarch a sensitive point admitting of no discussion or question. Similarly, the young priest was not supported by his colleagues or friends, when he had troubles with the patriarch and needed support in the difficult years 1907-1913.

Light and shadow in the early twentieth century ecclesiastical Mosul!

b) Mingana, a man with ambitious projects and wide horizons

From the very beginning, Mingana had ambitious projects. In 1905, at the age of 26, he published two large volumes in Syriac. Two years later, he initiated a series he called 'Syriac Sources', and gave two volumes to the press. Unfortunately, the crisis he met interrupted this magnificent 'élan'. This is remarkable for a young man; instead of starting with small articles and notes, he jumped immediately into big projects of many volumes.

During his whole life, we can discern this attitude, moved by a great zeal for promoting Syriac. Think of the great Catalogues of manuscripts he wrote, of the seven volumes of "Woodbrooke Studies", of the new series launched under the name of "Woodbrooke Scientific Publications".

We can better understand this attitude if we put Mingana in the Catholic historical context of French scholarship. The Abbé Jean-Paul Migne had completed (some twenty years before) one of his immense projects, publishing almost 400 volumes

in-quarto of Church Fathers, in the famous *Patrologia Latina* (222 volumes) and *Patrologia Graeca* (168 volumes), not to speak of many other publications exceeding these two projects in volume. In 1897, Abbé René Graffin (1858-1941) published the first volume of his *Patrologia Syriaca*, as a complement to Migne's *Patrologies* (184). But volume 2 of it appeared only in 1907 (the same year as Mingana's "Sources Syriacques"), and volume 3 in 1927.

In 1903, two new Oriental Christian series appeared in Paris (and are still in process): the *Patrologia Orientalis* by Abbé Graffin and Abbé François Nau (1864-1931) (185); and the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* by Abbé Jean-Baptiste Chabot, the very one with whom Mingana had a controversy (186), all of them Syriacists. In 1905, 11 fascicules appeared of the PO, but only two of them were Syriac; and in the same year 9 Syriac fascicules appeared in the CSCO, out of 29.

Mingana may have thought he could carry out such a big project better than these orientalist, by concentrating his attention on Syriac texts. In a way he was right. But he was too unrealistic. One man alone could not complete such a big project. Migne may have succeeded in achieving it for Greek and Latin, but the state of Oriental Christian studies was much too backward to make such a plan feasible . . . and is so still, unfortunately, so!

c) Mingana as western-eastern scholar

This expression is from Willem Cornelis van Unnik, a well-known Syriacist who published some studies in the same fields as Mingana, according to Mingana's biographers:

'Dr W C van Unnik, who worked at the Mingana Collection in Selly Oak, acknowledges the way in which "this Western-Eastern scholar" had brought the East near to him' (187).

l) The double education

Mingana had a double education. From the East he had this living knowledge of the Syriac tradition, and of the languages and mentality of Eastern peoples; he could feel the language and what lies behind the words. But he had also received a very good Western education, from the time he was 12 in Mosul, thanks to the French Dominicans. It is this combination of the two elements which enabled Mingana to be a good scholar, and to make Syriac studies attractive to Western people.

This experience of Mingana is illuminating for us in the Selly Oak Colleges. It is by giving this double education that we can be useful. The Islam Centre, for example, offers to many Muslim students and scholars the possibility of studying their own tradition in a more rigorous and detached way than they could in their own country. Even if these Muslims may know more about Islam from inside than their teachers, it is not the same kind of knowledge.

ii) Role of Selly Oak for Oriental Christians and in Britain

Unfortunately, the tradition inaugurated here in the Selly Oak Colleges by Mingana has totally lapsed. I mean the academic study of the Christian Oriental tradition. This could be forgiven anywhere else, but not in Selly Oak. This lack is really not understandable, because it is an explicit part of the purpose of the Library, as expressed in a report from October 1947:

'The Selly Oak Colleges Library serves the day to day needs of the students of the associated colleges at Selly Oak. It aims also at providing facilities for advanced work in missionary and Oriental studies' (188).

My hope is that this public lecture may push the Federation to examine seriously the question of a permanent Oriental fellowship for teaching, research and publication on Oriental Christianity. Byzantine and Slavic studies can be found in many institutions in Britain, Syriac studies are not absent (for instance in Oxford and Cambridge), but Arab Christian studies and Coptic studies seem to be totally unrepresented in this country. Would it not be a great "mission" for Selly Oak to promote these studies, not occasionally, but in a permanently structured way?

iii) Meaning of the present Conference

The Conference on Christian Arabic Apologetic Texts, organised by two institutions of the Federation (The Centre for the Study of Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations and Woodbrooke College) has this aim: to create more academic interest in Arab Christianity and its importance (historically and at the present time) in Muslim-Christian dialogue.

Let me clarify this. In the last decade, some hundreds of meetings on Christian-Muslim relations have taken place. These meetings are usually very nice: people meet for some days and talk together. Everyone is happy, and goes home with more hope for the future. Sometimes these meetings are simply 'wind', just talk.

What is worse is that these meetings are often (not always, fortunately!) ambiguous, if not confusing. Why? Because they compare two religions in different sociological, cultural, political and economic contexts. Christians are Western, and Muslims are in fact Eastern. Is it a religious dialogue, or a cultural or political one? Sometimes it is a socio-economic dialogue, where Christians seek to defend émigrés or Third World workers.

The advantage of Arab Christians is that they share the same language, the same culture, the same tradition, in a word the same life and the same background, with Arab Muslims. The only difference is in their religion. In this case, dialogue (even if it is sometimes hard) is more authentic.

If this Conference proves positive, one could plan for other similar Conferences. For instance on both Islamic and Christian Apologetics (in a given period); or on Copts and Muslims, in thought and history, in a given period. For such a Conference, it would be necessary to have Oriental Christians and Muslims, and not only orientalist.

The publication of the proceedings could encourage some scholar to deepen some aspect touched on in the Conference.

Above all, such a Conference (especially if it became regular, let us say once every two or three years) could prepare the way for the creation of a small centre for research on Oriental (or Arab) Christianity, until the day comes when we will have a real successor to Alphonse Mingana, someone able to teach and make research in Arab Christian or Syriac studies in connexion with Islam.

d) Conclusion

The aim of Mingana was to make the Oriental Christian tradition, so rich but so much ignored, known to Eastern as well as to Western students. He did it by all possible means, first of all by publishing these treasures of his Collection, with translations and studies. By doing so, he intended (I believe) to help the West to have a better understanding of what Christianity really is.

Christianity is also often identified with the West. Now my personal impression is that the West is going through a deep identity crisis, with a conscious or unconscious rejection of its origins.

Moreover it seems that Christianity too is going through a deep crisis. Christians are losing their identity. They often do not know what it means to be Christian, and at best Christianity is becoming a private matter. The society is secular, even if most citizens are Christians. That is why few people feel that there is a Christian culture, although we need the support of a Christian environment to live our faith.

In the East, the Christian feeling of belonging to a community of believers is still strong. I have a deep-seated conviction that Western Christianity could rediscover a lot of its own reality and identity through a better knowledge of the Christianity of the East, which is, after all, the cradle of Christianity as a whole.

NOTES

- 1 My encounter with Marie Mingana was arranged by Jeph and Margaret Gillett (Beacon Cottage) and Ruth Conway. We met for many hours, first at Beacon Cottage, then at the Selly Oak Colleges where the Mingana Collection is housed. Later, she sent me some documents, and we spoke on different occasions on the telephone. I am grateful to all these people, and particularly to Miss Marie Mingana for her extreme kindness.
- 2 The 7 English biographies of Mingana I have seen fix his birth year as 1881, as does MACUCH (p 409). VOSTE (p 515-6) has rectified this mistake, on the basis of the ordination date (1902). He would have been just a little more than 20, which is impossible according to Catholic canon law which requires at least 24 years (exceptions are rare and do not go beyond 18 months). Even if born in 1878, he would have needed, in principle, a dispensation for the few months lacking. Many people in the East (especially at that time) did not know their age.
- 3 However, in the Ottoman Attestation issued in 1325 AH (between 14 February 1907 and 3 February 1908), a copy of which Marie Mingana kindly sent me, the date of birth is '1301', which means between 2 November 1883 and 20 October 1884. If the 23 December is correct, Hurmiz would be born in 1883, which is absolutely incompatible with the date of ordination. Since this date is the only sure one, we have to correct all previous dates.
This certificate is not the birth certificate, but a simple '*Tazkarah Sider*', a certificate or attestation. The information found in it could have been given by Qass Alphonse himself. The dates being all in Hijrah, it was easy to make a mistake.
- 4 In the Ottoman Attestation, we read something like '*Sharânsh Nasârâ*', without *al-*.
- 5 See for instance MW*, p 1, line 11. (For * see page 52 below.)
- 6 VOSTE, p 515, lines 6-10: 'Qas Paulos Mingana n'était donc pas "a landowner" ou propriétaire foncier, mais un modeste paysan chaldéen, qui avait, comme tous ses semblables, un lot de terrain en ce pays aride où la terre n'a pas grande valeur'. [Tr: 'Qass Paulus Mingana was thus not "a landowner" but a modest Chaldean farmer who possessed, like all his neighbours, a certain amount of ground in that arid countryside where the ground as such is of no great value.']
- 7 This appears in the Ottoman Attestation. The name of Mingana's father is given as: Qass Bulus (or Pawlos).
- 8 This information is given by SAKO, p 292, note 3. His source is direct conversation with the people from Sharânsh.

- 9 In the Ottoman Attestation I read the name of his mother as being Buta (which could also be read as 'Bônâ'). In the English biography, the name is given as 'Marie Nanni' (MW, p 1, line 12). Finally, in SAKO's biography (p 292, line 3), the name is given as 'Nânô'.
- 10 This information was given to me, in Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham, on 31 May 1990, by her niece Marie Mingana.
- 11 See SAKO, p 293, note 5.
- 12 MW, p 1, lines 14-16.
- 13 See VOSTE, p 515.
- 14 He taught Hebrew to the theologians immediately after his arrival in Birmingham, in 1913 (see MW, p 2, line 22). This is why I assume that he learned it in the Seminary.
- 15 See MACUCH, p 407-8 (with bibliography).
- 16 MACUCH, p 408, lines 11-12.
- 17 On Addaï Scher (1867-1915), see MACUCH, p 402-5.
- 18 I have no further information about this bishop.
- 19 See MW, p 1, lines 26-8.
- 20 One is rather surprised to hear that at the beginning of this century so many Syriac manuscripts on vellum were available in the Mosul area.
- 21 For this paragraph, see VOSTE, p 517-8.
- 22 See for instance MW, p 1, line 24.
- 23 See MACUCH, p 410, lines 1-2.
- 24 This is what was suggested by Fr Alphonse Raes SJ to G Woledge. See MW, p 9.
- 25 Mingana himself, in the list he furnished to *Who Was Who*, III (1929-40) (published in 1947), said that he 'supervised the *Officium juxta ritum Syrorum Orientalium*, 3 volumes (1903-10)'. Unfortunately, no trace of these volumes have been found in the various libraries, and the research undertaken (at the request of G Woledge) by Professors Paul Kahle, Willy Heffening and Alphonse Raes SJ produced no evidence of them anywhere. See MW, p 9.
- 26 Abbé Alphonse MINGANA, *Clef de la langue araméenne, ou Grammaire complète et pratique des deux dialectes syriaques occidental et oriental* (Mosul: Dominican Press, 1905), XVI + 197 pages (with paradigms and bibliography). The copy in the Selly Oak Colleges Library has this dedication to Rendel Harris, written by Mingana: 'In testimonium grati et devotissimi animi' (to be compared with the dedication of Narsai's volumes to the Dominicans, mentioned in note 23). An identical dedication is to be found in each one of the two volumes on Narsai.

27 *Ibidem*, p IV.

28 *Narsai doctoris syri homiliae et carmina primo edita, cura et studio D Alphonsi Mingana, cum praefatione editoris* (Mosul: Dominican Press, 1905, LX + 370 pages, and 412 pages.

29 For the bibliography on Narsai, see for instance Ignatius ORTIZ DE URBINA SI, *Patrologia Syriaca* (2nd ed, Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1965), p 115-8; to be completed by Sebastian BROCK, *Syriac Studies* 1960-70. A classified bibliography, in *Parole de l'Orient* 4 (1973), 447-8; 10 (1981-2), 386; 14 (1987), 340.

30 See note 29 (NARSAI), p 3 (the whole page).

31 NARSAI, p 38-9. For this question, see FIEY, p 274-9, section entitled (unfortunately): 'Sera-t-il Dieu, table ou cuvette?'. [Tr: 'Will it be God, table or basin?']

32 See Addaï SCHER, *La cause de la fondation des écoles, par Mar BARHADBESABBA 'ARBAYA, évêque de Halwan, coll. Patrologia Orientalis*, IV 4 (= actual number 18) (Paris 1907), p 314-97.

33 On Chabot, see G RYCKMANS, Jean-Baptiste Chabot, in *Le Muséon* 61 (1948) 141-52; Gustave BARDY, art Chabot, in *Catholicisme* 2 (196-) 855; T PETERSEN, art Chabot, Jean-Baptiste, in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* 3 (1967) 420 b.

34 See Jean-Baptiste CHABOT, Narsai le Docteur et les origines de l'école de Nisibe, in *Journal Asiatique*, 10e série, vol 6 (juillet-août 1905), p 157-77.

35 'Hic magna lacuna adest in codice nostro' (NARSAI, p 38).

36 CHABOT (see note 34), p 173. This text is partially cited by Mingana in his Réponse, p 18.

37 The pamphlet is not dated. The date is indicated in Addaï Scher's publication (see note 33), on page 320.

38 See MINGANA, Réponse à Chabot, p 3: 'Ce compte rendu, sauf quelques lignes consacrées à résumer très sommairement ma préface, ne comprend que la traduction française, avec notes et appréciation critique, d'un fragment de Barhadhsabba, auteur du commencement du VIIe siècle que j'ai inséré en tête du premier volume'. [Tr: 'This review, apart from a few lines devoted to a brief summary of my Preface, only deals with the French translation, with notes and a critical appreciation, of a fragment by Bar Hadbeshabba, an author of the beginning of the 7th century, which I inserted at the outset of the first volume.']

39 There is here a clear allusion to some deacon who helped Chabot, but I do not know whom he meant.

40 I cite this text from FIEY (p 272) who gives a reference to MINGANA, Réponse à Chabot, p 16. But I have not found this text on p 14-9.

- 41 On Aphram Barsaum, see MACUCH, p 441-5.
- 42 Marie Mingana informed me that Bishop Barsaum visited her father twice in Manchester, which means when he was not yet patriarch (he was elected patriarch on 30 December 1933). They spoke together in French, because of the presence of Emma-Sophie, the wife of Mingana. It is probable that when they were alone they spoke Arabic and Syriac. She said Bishop Barsaum was the only Iraqi with whom her father had contact.
- 43 See Afram I BARSAWM, *Al-Lu'lu' al-manthur fi tarikh al-ulum wa-l-adab al-suryaniyyah* (3rd edition, Baghdad, 1976), p 476-84.
- 44 *Ibidem*, p 483.
- 45 See for instance his explanation of the two Narsai (on p 15), and that of the elevation of Ishōyahb to the patriarchal seat (on p 16).
- 46 MINGANA, *Narsai*, p 40.
- 47 See MINGANA, *Mshiha-Zkha* (Mosul and Leipzig 1907), p VII, lines 5-9: 'Le manuscrit dont nous donnons ici le texte et la traduction (...) nous permettra de redresser maintes erreurs ayant encore cours dans les travaux de nos syrologues modernes' [Tr: 'The manuscript whose text and translation we here publish (...) will allow us to correct many of the errors still at large in the works of our modern Syrologists']; and p VIII: 'Les syrologues modernes semblent identifier et confondre les trois historiens'. [Tr: 'Modern Syrologists appear to identify and thus confuse the three historians.']
- 48 MINGANA, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of manuscripts...*, vol I, Syriac and Garshūni Manuscripts (Cambridge: W Heffer and Sons, 1933), p VI. The underlining is mine. To be honest, the catalogues of Mingana (whether those of the John Rylands Library or of his collection) are rather cumbersome, because of their space-consuming format.
- 49 SCHER (see note 33).
- 50 SCHER (see note 33), p 323-4.
- 51 François NAU, *La seconde partie de l'Histoire de Barhadbesabba 'Arbaya et une controverse de Théodore de Mopsueste avec les Macédoniens*, in *Patrologia Orientalis* IX.5 (= actual number 45) (Paris 1913, 190 pages).
- 52 MINGANA, Bibliography 5.
- 52b On this copyist and minor author, see Khalil SAMIR, Un auteur chaldéen oublié: Abraham Simon Sekwana (1849-1931), in *Oriens Christianus* 66 (1982) 215-7; and Hubert KAUFHOLD, Einige ergänzende Bemerkungen über Abraham Sekwana, in *Oriens Christianus* 67 (1983) 208-11.
- 53 Eduard SACHAU, *Die Chronik von Arbela. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis des ältesten Christentums im Orient*, coll. "Abhandlungen der Königlich-Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften". Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Nr 6 (Berlin, 1915), 94 pages.
- 54 Franz ZORELL, *Chronicon Ecclesiae Arbalensis. Ex idiomate syriaco in latinum vertit*, coll. "Orientalia Christiana" 31 (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1927, 64 pages).
- 55 All these studies are mentioned in Ignatius ORTIZ DE URBINA, *Patrologia Syriaca*, 2nd ed (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 1965), p 210-1.
- 56 See Julius ASSFALG, Zur Textüberlieferung der Chronik von Arbela. Beobachtungen zu Ms. or. fol. 3126, in *Oriens Christianus* 50 (1966) 19-36.
- 57 These four students are mentioned in FIEY, p 280, note 51.
- 58 See FIEY, p 280-302.
- 59 Peter KAWERAU, *Die Chronik von Arbela*, coll. CSCO 467 and 468 (Louvain 1985).
- 60 See Paul PEETERS, Le "Passionnaire d'Adiabène", in *Analecta Bollandiana* 43 (1925) 497-510.
- 61 See Peter KAWERAU (supra, note 59). CSCO 468, p 11.
- 62 See VOSTE, p 517.
- 63 See Julius ASSFALG, *Syrische Handschriften* (Berlin, 1963), pl. III.
- 64 See FIEY, p 284-5.
- 65 See BARSAUM (note 43).
- 66 He writes in Arabic *H'YS'*, which does not correspond to any Syriacist. I suppose that the *Y* is a misprint (easy before an *S*), and that the author's manuscript had: *Hâs*. He probably alluded to Felix Haase, whose (incomplete) bibliography can be found in Cyril MOSS, *Catalogue of Syriac printed books and related literature* (London: British Museum, 1962, col. 444-5).
- 67 For the Syriac production of Martin Sprengling, see MOSS, col. 1033-4.
- 68 For the Syriac production of William Creighton Graham, see MOSS (note 66, above), col. 424.
- 69 The restriction added by Patriarch Aphram Barsaum to Mingana's name is very clear. Friendship dictated this discretion, but, as we say in Arabic: *Al-labib bil-isharah yafham!* One will note also that Mingana is classified with the Orientalists (*mustashrigun*).
- 70 BARSAUM (see note 43), p 484, lines 13-4.
- 71 See FIEY, p 302. Note that Fiey reproduces the conclusion of Peeters with regard to the History of the Turks we find in the Letter of Philoxenus to Abu 'Afar (see section 32).
- 72 See the three letters of Father Dumini, OP, regarding this question, preserved in the Archives of the Apostolic Delegation in Baghdad, and published by FIEY, p 301, note 160.

- 73 MINGANA, *Mshiha-Zkha*, p 78, note 1.
- 74 MINGANA, Bibliography 5.
- 75 See VOSTE, p 517.
- 76 See the first letter of Father Dumini, dated 12 November 1907, in FIEY, p 301, note 160.
- 77 See VOSTE, p 517: '... le fit parvenir en Angleterre, où Qas Alphonse avait naguère désiré se faire moine catholique, n'ayant aucune aptitude pour la predication à cause d'un défaut de langue'. [Tr: '... reached England, where Qass Alphonse had once wished to become a Catholic monk, since with his speech defect he had no aptitude for preaching.] Having asked Jeph and Margaret Gillett, and Marie Mingana, if they noticed any speech defect in Mingana, their answer was negative (with the exception of the pronunciation of the R, which was peculiar, said Mrs Margaret Gillett). I do not know how to interpret the assertion of Voste.
- 78 See MW, p 3, lines 15-7.
- 79 MW, p 2, lines 4-6.
- 80 I have not been able to identify this Pastor. (Possibly F A Andrus is meant).
- 81 Information given by Marie Mingana, who was told this by her father.
- 82 Information given by Mrs Margaret Gillett, on 31 May 1990.
- 83 MW, p 2, lines 20-2.
- 84 The date is given at the end of the second article: 'Woodbrooke Settlement, Selly Oak, 13 July 1913' (p 190 of the article mentioned in next note).
- 85 MINGANA, Bibliography 9.
- 86 See J Rendel HARRIS, *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, now first published from the Syriac version (Cambridge, 1909).
- 87 See MINGANA, Bibliography 9, p 234: 'Le livre "The Odes and Psalms of Solomon" excita en effet, au plus haut point, l'attention des érudits, et l'on peut compter aujourd'hui une centaine de mémoires qui parlent, plus ou moins amplement, de cette savoureuse et antique élucubration placée sous le nom biblique de Salomon'. [Tr: 'The book *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon* succeeded to the highest degree in arousing the interest of scholars, and one can today count at least a hundred articles which deal more or less fully with this fragrant and ancient work of scholarship assigned to the biblical Solomon.']
- 88 See Francis Crawford BURKITT, *A new MS of the Odes of Solomon*, in the *Journal of Theological Studies* 13 (1912), p 372-85. On F C Burkitt (1864-1935), see J F BETHUNE-BAKER, art. *Burkitt, Francis Crawford*, in *The Dictionary of National Biography 1931-1940*, ed L G Wickham LEGG (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949), p 124a-5b.
- 89 MINGANA, Bibliography 21.

- 90 Here is the text of the note: 'The publication of his work having curiously coincided with 27 May 1920 the author is glad to make an homage of it to the happy ceremony held on that date at Sutton, Surrey, at 2.30 pm.' Signed: A Mingana.
- 91 On these two ladies, see A Whigham PRICE, *The Ladies of Castlebrae*. The life of Dr Agnes Smith Lewis and Dr Margaret Dunlop Gibson of Cambridge (Durham: College of the Venerable Bede, 1964, 23 pages); and A Whigham PRICE, *The Ladies of Castlebrae*. A story of nineteenth-century travel and research (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1984; ISBN 0-86299-228-1, XIV + 242 pages).
- On p 207-8, the author relates this collaboration in a rather imprecise way, starting by saying: 'In 1914 (*sic*), Agnes and her ex-monk (*sic*) friend Mingana collaborated in editing a work with the unexciting title of *Leaves from a three ancient Qur'âns, possibly Pre-Othmânic*. It is not a title-page to set the pulses beating, but it nevertheless created a stir in Islamic circles' (p 207).
- And further: 'It was this work, coupled with Maggie's edition of the *Commentaries on Isho'dad of Merv*, which led, in June 1915, to the bestowal upon the twins of the coveted Triennial Gold Medal of the Royal Asiatic Society - the blue ribbon of Oriental research' (p 208).
- 92 MW, p 2, lines 28-9.
- 93 One can find a short and precise biography on Agnes Lewis (1843-1926) in *The Dictionary of National Biography 1922- 1930*, ed by J R H WEAVER (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949), p 509a-10a, written by Francis Crawford BURKITT.
- 94 See Bibliography 7.
- 95 For a summary on this question, see A T WELCH, art. "Kur'ân", in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed, 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1986), pp 400a-29a, spec. 404a-9b "History of the Kur'ân after 632".
- 96 A Whigham PRICE, *The Ladies of Castlebrae*. A story of nineteenth-century travel and research (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1984; ISBN 0-86299-228-1), p 208.
- 97 See Arthur J ARBERRY, *A second supplementary hand-list of the Muhammadan manuscripts in the University and Colleges of Cambridge* (Cambridge: University Press, 1952) p 25, No 152. He estimates the under-writing as being from the 1st/7th century, with a '?'.
- 98 MW, p 2, lines 29-31.
- 99 See the *Catalogue of the Mingana collection of manuscripts*, vol IV - Islamic Arabic manuscripts, by H L GOTTSCHALK, J S TRIMINGHAM, A F L BEESTON and Derek HOPWOOD, revised edition edited by Derek HOPWOOD (Zug: IDC, 1985).

- 100 See MINGANA, Bibliography 6.
- 101 On David Samuel Margoliouth, see Gilbert MURRAY, *David Samuel Margoliouth, 1858-1940*, in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 26 (1940); and Gilbert MURRAY, *Margoliouth, David Samuel (1858-1940)*, in *The Dictionary of National Biography 1931-1940*, ed L G Wickham LEGG (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949), p 597a-99b.
- 102 This paragraph is based on oral information given by Marie Mingana at Birmingham on 31 May 1990.
- 103 See MINGANA, Bibliography 18.
- 104 See MINGANA, Bibliography 10.
- 105 See MINGANA, Bibliography 11.
- 106 See MINGANA, Bibliography 14.
- 107 See MINGANA, Bibliography 8.
- 108 See MINGANA, Bibliography 13.
- 109 MW, p 2, lines 22-4.
- 110 MINGANA, Bibliography 81.
- 111 These two paragraphs are based on oral information given at Birmingham, on 31 May 1990, by Marie Mingana.
- 112 See MW, pp 2 & 3.
- 113 Some information is given by SAKO, p 293. He probably got it from Mingana's brother Kada' and from other people from Sharânsh. I have corrected and completed it with details furnished by Marie Mingana (Birmingham, 31.5.90).
- 114 See MW, p 1, last line. The same words precisely were used by Marie Mingana in answer to a question about her father's doctorate.
- 115 MACUCH, p 410, lines 3-6.
- 116 See VOSTE, p 516.
- 117 See section 133.2 (and note 46).
- 118 FIEY, p 266, note 3.
- 119 MINGANA, Bibliography 9.
- 120 MINGANA, Bibliography 20.
- 121 MINGANA, Bibliography 17.
- 122 MINGANA, Bibliography 18.
- 123 MINGANA, Bibliography 6.
- 124 MINGANA, Bibliography 12 and 15.
- 125 MINGANA, Bibliography 39.

- 126 Alphonse MINGANA, Notes for talk to Cambridge Theological Society (manuscript in the Selly Oak Library, Birmingham), p 1-2 of the section entitled "Anecdotes". Here is the summary of this anecdote (in MW, p 4: 2-4): 'how an official on the frontier between Syria and Iraq, seeing the title "Dr" on his passport, kept him waiting till all the invalids of the neighbourhood could assemble – a situation which he dealt with by distributing the contents of a bottle of quinine'.
- 127 *Who Was Who*, vol III (1929-1940), published in 1941, p 946.
- 128 MW, p 2, last paragraph.
- 129 See Irene PICKARD, *Memories of J Rendel Harris* (no place, no date [November 1978]), p 46-7.
- 130 MINGANA, Bibliography 12.
- 131 MINGANA, Bibliography 15.
- 132 MINGANA, Bibliography 19.
- 133 MW, p 3, line 15.
- 134 MINGANA, Bibliography 22.
- 135 MW, p 3, lines 8-11.
- 136 MINGANA, Bibliography 24.
- 137 MW, p 3, lines 4-7.
- 138 MINGANA, Bibliography 50.
- 139 Sebastian BROCK, Alphonse Mingana and the Letter of Philoxenus to Abu 'Afr, in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 50 (1967) 199-206.
- 140 On this scribe, who copied some 50 manuscripts for Mingana, and died in Mosul on 28 February 1947, see FIEY, p 269. He is listed under number 298 (p 496) in the index of famous scribes given by Patriarch Barsaum in his "History" (see note 43, p 485-96); according to him, his *acme* was between 1889 and 1943.
- 141 Paul PEETERS, Un nouveau document sur l'histoire des Turcs, in *Byzantion* 4 (1927-8) 569-74.
- 142 See Alphonse MINGANA, Remarks on the Early Spread of Christianity in Central Asia, in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 14 (1930) 123-4. This note is not listed in MINGANA's bibliography.
- 143 See Paul PEETERS, *Recherches d'histoire et de philosophie orientales*, I (Bruxelles, 1951), p 208-13.
- 144 See FIEY, p 268-74.
- 145 See Sebastian BROCK, Alphonse Mingana and the Letter of Philoxenus to Abu 'Afr, in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 50 (1967) 199-206, here p 201-4.
- 146 *Ibidem*, p 202.
- 147 MINGANA, Bibliography 76.

- 148 Alphonse MINGANA, A Semi-official Defence of Islam, in JRAS October 1920, p 481-8, here 481.
- 149 MINGANA, Bibliography 39 and 40.
- 150 MW, p 4-5.
- 151 Paul PEETERS, Review of Mingana's Edition of "The Book of Religion and Empire", in *Analecta Bollandiana* 42 (1924) 200-2.
- 152 See his obituary entitled: In memoriam: le Père Maurice Bouyges, SJ (1878-1951). Notice et bibliographie, in *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 29 (1951-52)
- 153 Maurice BOUYGES, *Le "Kitab ad-din wa 'd-dawlar" récemment édité par Mr A Mingana, est-il authentique?* (Beirut, 1914); IDEM, *Le Kitab ad-din wa 'd-dawlat n'est pas authentique* (Beirut, 1925).
- 154 See Maurice BOUYGES, 'Aliy ibn Rabban al-Tabriy, in *Der Islam* 22 (1935) 120-1.
- 155 See Maurice BOUYGES, Nos informations sur 'Aliy . . . al-Tabriy, in *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 28 (1949-50) 67-114.
- 156 I have not yet studied the question personally, and prefer not to express any opinion before I make my own accurate study. Many studies have appeared on this book, but no one, to my knowledge, confronts radically the question raised here, comparing in detail the two books attributed to Tabari. Furthermore, the fact that the *Kitâb al-Din wa-l-Dawlah* is not quoted (by name) by any Muslim author raises a question.
- 157 MINGANA, Bibliography 61.
- 158 See David Samuel MARGOLIOUTH, On the Book of Religion and Empire by 'Ali b Rabban al-Tabari, in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 16 (1930) 1-20.
- 159 For Bouyges, see for instance the review of volume III of *Bibliotheca Arabicarum Scholasticarum, Averroès, Tahâfut at Tahâfut* (Beirut 1930, 39 + 679 pages) published by A R GUEST in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1933, p 184-5: 'Father Bouyges' critical edition is excellent in every respect. He follows the same method as he employed for his admirable edition of Ghazâli's *Tahâfut* (...). His work is able, thorough, and complete'.
- 160 See above, chapter 1 c) ii-iv) pages 9-12.
- 161 See above, note 60.
- 162 See above, chapter 1 c) iv) page 11.
- 163 See Ignace-'Abdo KHALIFE and Wilhelm KUTSCH, Ar-Radd 'ala n-Nasara de 'Ali al-Tabari, in *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 36 (1959) 113-48.
- 164 See Khalil SAMIR, La Réponse d'al-Safi Ibn al-'Assal a la Réfutation des chrétiens de 'Ali al-Tabari, in *Parole de l'Orient* 10 (1983) ...

- 165 See chapter 2 a) iii) page 9.
- 166 See chapter 6 b) page 35.
- 167 Louis CHEIKHO, La discussion religieuse entre le calife al-Mahdi et Timothée, le Catholicos (in Arabic), in *al-Machrig* 21 (1921), p 359-74 and 408-18. Republished in IDEM, *Trois traités de polémique et de théologie chrétienne* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1923), p 1-26.
- 168 See our edition of this text (with titles and logical divisions) in Hans PUTMAN, *L'Eglise et l'Islam sous Timothée I (780-823)*, coll. "Recherches de l'ILO" B 3 (Beirut: Dar el-Machreq, 1977), p 7-57 (in Arabic). The French translation and the study are by Fr Hans Putman SJ.
- 169 See Robert CASPAR, Les versions arabes du dialogue entre le Catholicos Timothée I et le calife al-Mahdi (IIe/VIIIe siècle): 'Mohammed a suivi la voie des prophètes', in *Islamo-christiana* 3 (1977), p 107-75 (+ 2 plates).
- 170 See MINGANA, Bibliography 56, p 51-62.
- 171 WOLEDGE (1938) p 45.
- 172 The word 'friend' indicates a member of the 'Society of Friends', the Quakers. In this case, the Friends are Mr and Mrs Edward and Dorothy Cadbury.
- 173 This is an allusion to Alphonse Mingana.
- 174 Woodbrooke Council Minute, 14 November 1914, p 768.
- 175 It is interesting to note the mention, for the first time, of this series, which was in fact to be begun by Mingana a year later, in 1927. He was to publish 7 large volumes, from 1927 to 1934. See MINGANA, Bibliography 55, 56, 64, 65, 67, 72 and 75.
- 176 Letter preserved in Woodbrooke College Library.
- 177 Letter preserved in Woodbrooke College Library.
- 178 Letter preserved in Woodbrooke College Library.
- 179 Letter preserved in Woodbrooke College Library.
- 180 Letter preserved in Woodbrooke College Library.
- 181 Central Council minute book, 1927-66, p 37 (7 June 1932), minute 388.
- 182 MW, p 1.
- 183 WOLEDGE, p 46.
- 184 On René Graffin, see Louis MARIÈS, in *Construire*, 3 ser. (1941) 216-27; Sylvain GREBAUT, in *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, 3 ser. 10 (1935-6) 225-30; Francois GRAFFIN, in *Catholicisme* 5 (196-) 181-2; P W SKEHAN, art. Graffin, René, in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* 6 (1967) 687-8.

- 185 On François Nau and his prodigious scientific activity, see M BRIÈRE, L'abbé François-Nicolas Nau, in *Journal Asiatique* 223 (1933) 149-80; Ignazio ORTIZ DE URBINA, in *Enciclopedia Cattolica* 8 (196-) 1692; L F HARTMAN, art. Nau, François Nicolas, in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* 10 (1967) 281a.
- 186 See above, chapter 1 c) ii-iii) pages 9-11.
- 187 MW, p 3, lines 17-9.
- 188 See 'The Purpose and Character of the Central Library', 1947, David MOLE, p 2. (Typescript 20 pages)

* MW = Margoliouth and Woledge, listed in Bibliography as Alphonse Mingana, below p 60.

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- 1 *Officium juxta ritum Syrorum Orientalium*. 3 volumes (1903-1910). This title occurs in the list furnished by Dr Mingana to *Who's Who*; but I have not been able to trace it, and Professors Kahle and Heffening of Bonn and Raes of Rome, who have been so good as to answer enquiries, have been equally unsuccessful. Professor Raes, however, kindly communicates to me the suggestion, made by a Dominican who was formerly at Mosul, that Dr Mingana may have undertaken editorial work in connection with editions published by the Mosul Dominicans of the offices of baptism, of matrimony, and of the dead.
 - 2 *Narsai homiliae et carmina*. Primo edita cura et studio D Alphonsi Mingana. Cum praefatione editoris. 2 volumes, la. 8°. Mausiliï, Typis Fratrum Praedicatorum, 1905.
 - 3 Réponse à Mr l'Abbé J.-B. Chabot à propos de la Chronique de Barhadhbšabba. (Voir *Journal Asiatique* No Juillet-Août 1905.) [8°. Mossoul, 1905]
 - 4 *Clef de la langue araméenne, ou Grammaire complète et pratique des deux dialectes syriaques occidental et oriental*. 8°. Mossoul, Imprimerie des Pères Dominicains, 1905.
 - 5 *Sources syriaques*, Volume 1, part 1: Mšiha-Zkha (pp 1-168). Histoire du couvent de Sabrišó (pp 169-271). Part 2: Bar-Penkayé (pp 1-204). Textes et traductions. 8°. Leipzig, Harrassowitz (pr. Mossoul, Imp. des Pères Dominicains), nd.
 - 6 The early development of Mohammedanism. [In] *The Expository Times*, Volume 25 (No 7), pp 376-378 (April 1914).
 - 7 Leaves from three ancient Qur'âns, possibly Pre-Othmânic. With a list of their variants. Edited by A Mingana and A S Lewis. 8°. Cambridge University Press, 1914.
 - 8 A new document on Clement of Rome, his relations and his interview with Simon Peter. [In] *The Expositor*, 8th series, Volume 8 (No 45), pp 227-242 (September 1914).
 - 9 Quelques mots sur les odes de Salomon. [In] *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 15 (1914), pp 234-253; 16 (1915), pp 167-190.

- 10 Lewisian and Curetonian versions of the Gospels. [In] *The Expository Times*, Volume 25 (No 10), pp 475-477 (July 1914), and (No 11), pp 524-525 (August 1914); Volume 26 (No 1), pp 47-48 (October 1914), (No 2), pp 93-94 (November 1914), and (No 5), pp 235-236 (February 1915).
- 11 Judges xv 8. [In] *The Expository Times*, Volume 26 (No 7), pp 332-333 (April 1915).
- 12 An important old Turki manuscript in the John Rylands Library. [In] *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*. Volume 2 (No 2), pp 129-138 (April 1915). Reprinted in "The Moslem World", Volume 5 (No 4), pp 391-398 (October 1915).
- 13 A new document on Christian Monachism. [In] *The Expositor*, 8th series, Volume 9 (No 52), pp 365-378 (April 1915). Reprinted and criticised in "Gregorii Monachi Cyprii de Theoria sancta, Ed. 1 Hausherr," 1937.
- 14 The remaining Syriac versions of the Gospels. [In] *The Expository Times*, Volume 26 (No 8), pp 379-381 (May 1915).
- 15 Notes upon some of the Kur'anic manuscripts in the John Rylands Library. [In] *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Volume 2 (No 3), pp 240-250 (July-September 1915).
- 16 Remarks on the Hebrew of Genesis. [In] *The Expositor*, 8th series, Volume 11 (No 64), pp 303-310 (April 1916).
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